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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE REVOLUTION,

TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER XI.

§ I. *State of the Island of Martinique.* § II. *Expedition against that island.* § III. *Attempt upon St. Pierre.* § IV. *Descent on the Island of Guadaloupe.* § V. *Skirmishes with the islanders.* § VI. *Fort-Louis reduced. Fate of Colonel Debrisay.* § VII. *The English fleet sails to Dominique.* § VIII. *General Barrington takes Gosier, and storms the post of Licorne.* § IX. *He takes Petitbourg and St. Mary's. The island capitulates.* § X. *Island of Marigalante taken by General Barrington.* § XI. *He returns to England.* § XII. *Treaty with the Indians in North-America.* § XIII. *Plan of the Campaign.* § XIV. *Ticonderoga and Crown-Point abandoned by the French.*

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BOOK III. 1759.

§ I. HAVING finished the detail of the actions achieved in the European seas, by the naval force of Great-Britain, within the compass of the present year, we shall now proceed to record the exploits of the British arms within the tropics, and particularly the expedition to Martinique and Gaudaloupe, which is said to have succeeded even beyond the expectation of the ministry. A plan had been formed for improving the success of the preceding year in North America, by carrying the British arms up the river St. Laurence, and besieging Quebeck, the capital of Canada. The armament employed against the French islands of Martinique and Gaudaloupe constituted part of this design, inasmuch as the troops embarked on that expedition were, in case of a miscarriage at Martinique, intended to reinforce the British army in North America, which was justly considered as the chief seat of the war. What

What hope of success the administration conceived from an attempt upon Martinique, may be guessed from the state of that island, as it appeared in a memorial presented by the French King's lieutenants of its several districts, to the General of the French island, in consequence of an order issued in November, for holding them in readiness to march, and defend the island from the English, of whose design they were apprized. They represented that the trade with the Dutch was become their sole dependence; that they could expect no succour from Europe, by which they had been abandoned ever since the commencement of the war: that the traders vested with the privileges of trafficking among them had abused the intention of the General; and, instead of being of service to the colony, had fixed an arbitrary price for all the provisions which they brought in, as well as for the commodities which they exported; of consequence, the former was valued at as high a price as their avarice could exact, and the latter sunk as low in value as their own selfish hearts could conceive: that the colony for two months had been destitute of all kinds of provision: the commodities of the planters lay upon their hands, and their negroes were in danger of perishing through hunger; a circumstance that excited the apprehension of the most dreadful consequences; as to slaves, half starved, all kinds of bondage were equal; and people reduced to such a situation were often driven to despair, seeking in anarchy and confusion a remedy from the evils by which they were oppressed; that the best provided of the inhabitants laboured under the want of the common

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necessaries of life; and others had not so much as a grain of salt in their houses: that there was an irreparable scarcity of slaves to cultivate their land; and the planters were reduced to the necessity of killing their own cattle, to support the lives of those who remained alive: so that the mills were no longer worked, and the inhabitants consumed beforehand what ought to be reserved for their sustenance, in case of being blocked up by the enemy. They desired, therefore, that the General would suppress the permission granted to particular merchants, and admit neutral vessels freely into their ports, that they might trade with the colonists unmolested and unrestrained. They observed that the citadel of Port-Royal seemed the principal object on which the safety and defence of the country depended; as the loss of it would be necessarily attended with the reduction of the whole island; they therefore advised that this fort should be properly provided with every thing necessary for its safety and defence; and that magazines of provision, as well as ammunition, should be established in different quarters of the island.—This remonstrance plainly proves that the island was wholly unprepared to repel the meditated invasion, and justifies the plan adopted by the ministry of Great-Britain. The regular troops of Martinique consisted of about twenty independent companies, greatly defective in point of number. The militia was composed of burghers and planters distressed and dissatisfied, mingled with a parcel of wretched negro slaves, groaning under the most intolerable misery, from whence they could have no hope of deliverance but by a speedy change of masters; their

their magazines were empty, and their fortifications out of repair. CHAP. XI.

§ II. Such was the state of Martinique, when the inhabitants every day expected a visit from the British armament, whose progress we shall now relate. On the twelfth day of November, in the preceding year, Captain Hughes sailed from St. Helens with eight sail of the line, one frigate, four bomb-ketches, and a fleet of transports, having on board six regiments of infantry, and a detachment of artillery, besides eight hundred marines distributed among the ships of war; this whole force being under the command of Major-General Hopson, an old experienced officer, assisted by Major-General Barrington, the Colonels Armiger and Haldane, the Lieutenant-Colonels Trapaud and Clavering, acting in the capacity of Brigadiers. After a voyage of seven weeks and three days, the fleet arrived at Barbadoes, and anchored in Carlisle-bay; where they joined Commodore Moore, appointed by his Majesty to command the united squadron, amounting to ten ships of the line, besides frigates and bomb-ketches. Ten days were employed in supplying the fleet with wood and water, in waiting for the hospital ship, in reviews, re-embarkations, councils of war, assemblies of the council belonging to the island, in issuing proclamations, and beating up for volunteers. At length, every great ship being reinforced with forty negroes, to be employed in drawing the artillery; and the troops, which did not exceed five thousand eight hundred men, being joined by two hundred Highlanders, belonging to the second battalion 1759.

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of the regiment commanded by Lord John Murray in North America, who were brought as recruits from Scotland under convoy of the ship Ludlow-castle: the whole armament sailed from Carlisle-bay on the thirteenth day of January: but by this time the troops, unaccustomed to a hot climate, were considerably weakened and reduced by fevers, diarrhœas, the scurvy, and the small-pox; which last disease had unhappily broke out amongst the transports. Next morning the squadron discovered the island of Martinique, which was the place of its destination. The chief fortification of Martinique was the citadel of Port-Royal, a regular fort, garrisoned by four companies, that did not exceed the number of one hundred and fifty men, thirty-six bombadiers, eighty Swiss, and fourteen officers. One hundred barrels of beef constituted their whole store of provision; and they were destitute of all other necessaries. They were almost wholly unprovided with water in the cisterns, with spare carriages for their cannon, match, wadding, and langrage: they had but a small stock of other ammunition; and the walls were in many parts decayed. The only preparations they had made for receiving the English were some paltry entrenchments thrown up at St. Pierre, and a place called Casdenavires, where they imagined the descent would probably be attempted. On the fifteenth day of the month, the British squadron entered the great bay of Port-Royal, some of the ships being exposed to the shot of a battery erected on the isle de Ranieres, a little island about half way up the bay. At their first appearance, the Florissant, of seventy-four guns, which had been so roughly handled by Captain

Captain Tyrrel in the Buckingham, then lying under the guns of Fort Negro, along with two frigates, turned up under the Citadel, and came to an anchor in the Carenage, behind the fortification. One frigate, called the Vestal, under favour of the night, made her escape through the transports, and directed her course for Europe; where she was taken by Captain Hood, as we have already related. Next day three ships of the line were ordered to attack Fort Negro, a battery at the distance of three miles from the Citadel, which, being mounted with seven guns only, was soon silenced, and immediately possessed by a detachment of marines and sailors; who, being landed in flat-bottomed boats, clambered up the rock, and entered through the embrasures with their bayonets fixed. Here, however, they met with no resistance: the enemy had abandoned the fort with precipitation. The British colours were immediately hoisted, and centinels of marines posted upon the parapet. The next care was to spike and disable the cannon, break the carriages, and destroy the powder which they found in the magazine: nevertheless, the detachment was ordered to keep possession of the battery. This service being successfully performed, three ships were sent to reduce the other battery at Casdenavires, which consisted only of four guns, and these were soon rendered unserviceable. The French troops, reinforced with militia which had been detached from the Citadel to oppose the disembarkation, perceiving the whole British squadron, and all the transports, already within the bay, and Fort Negro occupied by the marines, retired to Port-Royal, leaving the beach

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open;

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open; so that the English troops were landed without opposition; and, being formed, advanced into the country towards Fort Negro, in the neighbourhood of which they lay all night upon their arms; while the fleet, which had been galled by bomb-shells from the Citadel, shifted their station, and stood further up the bay. By ten next day the English officers had brought up some field-pieces to an eminence, and scoured the woods, from whence the troops had been greatly annoyed by the small shot of the enemy during the best part of the night, and all that morning. At noon the British forces advanced in order towards the hill that overlooked the town and citadel of Port-Royal, and sustained a troublesome fire from enemies they could not see; for the French militia were entirely covered by the woods and bushes. This eminence, called the Morne Tortueson, though the most important post of the whole island, was neglected by the General of Martinique, who had resolved to blow up the fortifications of the citadel; but, luckily for the islanders, he had not prepared the materials for this operation, which must have been attended with the immediate destruction of the capital, and indeed of the whole country. Some of the inferior officers, knowing the importance of the Morne Tortueson, resolved to defend that post with a body of the militia, which was reinforced by the garrisons of Fort-Negro and Casdenavires, as well as by some soldiers detached from the Florissant: but, notwithstanding all their endeavours, as they were entirely unprovided with cannon, extremely defective in point of discipline, dispirited by the pusillanimity

lanimity of their Governor, and in a great measure disconcerted by the general consternation that prevailed among the inhabitants, in all probability they could not have withstood a spirited and well-conducted attack by regular forces. About two o'clock General Hopson thought proper to desist from his attempt. He gave the Commodore to understand that he could not maintain his ground, unless the squadron would supply him with heavy cannon, landed near the town of Port Royal, at a savannah, where the boats must have been greatly exposed to the fire of the enemy; or assist him in attacking the citadel by sea, while he should make his approaches by land. Both these expedients * being deemed impracticable by a council of war, the troops were recalled from their advanced posts, and re-embarked in the evening, without any considerable molestation from the enemy. Their attempt on the Morne Tortueson had cost them several men, including two officers, killed or wounded in the attack; and, in revenge for this loss, they burned the sugar-canes, and desolated the country, in their retreat. The inhabitants of Martinique could hardly credit the testimony of their own senses, when they saw themselves thus delivered from all their fears at a time when they were overwhelmed with terror and confusion; when the principal individuals among them had resigned all

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* The Commodore offered to land the cannon on the other side of Point Negro, at a place equally near the road from the English army at Port-Royal, and even cause them to be drawn up by the seamen, without giving the troops the least trouble. But this offer was not accepted. General Hopson afterwards declared, that he did not understand Mr. Moore's message in the sense which it was meant to imply.

thought

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thought of further resistance; and were actually assembled at the publick hall in Port Royal, to send deputies to the English General, with proposals of capitulation and surrender.

§ III. The majority of the British officers, who constituted a council of war held for this purpose*, having giving their opinion, that it might be for his Majesty's service to make an attack upon St. Pierre, the fleet proceeded to that part of the island, and entered the bay on the nineteenth. The Commodore told the General, that he made no doubt of being able to reduce the town of St. Pierre; but as the ships might be disabled in the attack so as not to be in a condition to proceed immediately on any material service; as the troops might be reduced in their numbers, so as to be incapable of future attacks; and as the reduction of the island of Guadaloupe would be of great benefit to the sugar colonies; Mr. Moore proposed that the armament should immediately proceed to that island: and the General agreed to the proposal. The reasons produced on this occasion are, we apprehend, such as may be urged against every operation of war. Certain it is, no conquest can be attempted, either by sea or land, without exposing the ships and troops to a possibility of being disabled and diminished; and the same possibility militated as strongly against an attempt upon Guadaloupe, as it could possibly discourage the attack of St. Pierre. Besides, Martinique was an object

* The Commodore did not attend at this council; it was convoked to deliberate upon the opinion of the chief engineer, who thought they should make another landing on the southward of the Carenage. In this case, the pilots declared it would be extremely difficult, if not impracticable, for the fleet to keep up a communication with the army.

of

of greater importance than Guadaloupe*; as being the principal place possessed by the French in those seas, and that to which the operations of the armament were expressly limited by the instructions received from the ministry. St. Pierre was a place of considerable commerce; and at that very juncture about forty sail of merchant ships lay at anchor in the bay. The town was defended by a citadel regularly fortified, but at that time poorly garrisoned, and so situated as to be accessible to the fire of the whole squadron; for the shore was bold, and the water sufficient to float any ship of the line. Before the resolution of proceeding to Guadaloupe was taken, the Commodore had ordered the bay to be sounded; and directed the Rippon to advance, and silence a battery situated a mile and a half to the northward of St. Pierre. Accordingly, Captain Jekyll, who commanded that ship, stood in, and anchoring close to the shore, attacked it with such impetuosity, that in a few minutes it was abandoned. At the same time the Rippon was exposed to the fire of three other batteries, from which she received considerable damage both in her hull and rigging; and was in great danger of running aground, when orders were given to tow her out of danger. CHAP. XI. 1759.

§ IV. The whole armament having abandoned the design on Martinique, directed their course to Guadaloupe, another of the Caribbee islands, lying at the distance of thirty leagues to the westward,

* Only as being the seat of government; for Guadaloupe makes a much greater quantity of sugar, and equipped a much greater number of privateers, with the assistance of the Dutch of St. Eustatia, situated in its neighbourhood.

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about fifteen leagues in length, and twelve in breadth; divided into two parts by a small channel, which the inhabitants cross in a ferry-boat. The western division is known by the name of Basseterre; and here the metropolis stands, defended by the citadel and other fortifications. The eastern part, called Grandterre, is destitute of fresh water, which abounds in the other division; and is defended by Fort-Louis, with a redoubt, which commands the road in the district of Gosier. The gut, or canal, that separates the two parts, is distinguished by the appellation of the Salt-River, having a road or bay at each end; namely, the great Cul de Sac, and the small Cul de Sac. Guadaloupe is incumbered with high mountains and precipices, to which the inhabitants used to convey their valuable effects in time of danger: but here are also beautiful plains watered by brooks and rivers, which fertilize the soil, enabling it to produce a great quantity of sugar, cotton, indigo, tobacco, and cassia; besides plenty of rice, potatoes, all kinds of pulse, and fruit peculiar to the island. The country is populous and flourishing, and the government comprehends two smaller islands called All-Saints, and Deseada, which appear at a small distance from the coast, on the eastern side of the island. The British squadron having arrived at Basseterre, it was resolved to make a general attack by sea upon the citadel, the town and other batteries by which it was defended. A disposition being made for this purpose, the large ships took their respective stations next morning, which was the twenty-third day of January. At nine, the Lion, commanded by

Captain Trelawney, began the engagement against a battery of nine guns; and the rest of the fleet continued to place themselves abreast of the other batteries and the citadel, which mounted forty-six cannon, besides two mortars. The action in a little time became general, and was maintained on both sides for several hours with great vivacity; while the Commodore, who had shifted his pendant into the Woolwich frigate, kept aloof without gun-shot, that he might be the more disengaged to view the state of the battle*, and give his orders with the greater deliberation. This expedient of an admiral's removing his flag, and retiring from the action while his own ship is engaged, however consonant to reason, we do not remember to have seen practised upon any occasion, except in one instance, at Carthagena, where Sir Chaloner Ogle quitted his own ship, when she was ordered to stand in, and cannonade the fort of Boca-Chica. In this present attack, all the sea commanders behaved with extraordinary spirit and resolution, particularly the Captains Leslie, Burnet, Gayton, Jekyll, Trelawney, and Shuldam; who, in the hottest tumult of the action, distinguished themselves equally by their courage, impetuosity, and deliberation. About five in the afternoon the fire of the citadel slackened. The Burford and Ber-

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* He shifted his broad pendant on board the Woolwich, as well to direct and keep the transports together in a proper posture for the landing of the troops, as to cover the disembarkation; and also to consult proper measures with the general, who saw the necessity of Mr. Moore's being with him: and requested that he, with the other general officers and engineers, might be admitted on board the Woolwich, in order to consult, and take the earliest opportunity of landing the troops, as the service necessarily required.

wick

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wick were driven out to sea; so that Captain Shuldam, in the Panther, was unsustained; and two batteries played upon the Rippon, Captain Jekyll, who by two in the afternoon silenced the guns of one, called the Morne-rogue; but at the same time could not prevent his ship from running aground. The enemy perceiving her disaster, assembled in great numbers on the hill, and lined the trenches, from whence they poured in a severe fire of musquetry. The militia afterwards brought up a cannon of eighteen pound ball, and for two hours raked her fore and aft with considerable effect: nevertheless, Captain Jekyll returned the fire with equal courage and perseverance, though his people dropped on every side, until all his grape-shot and wadding were expended, and all his rigging cut to pieces; to crown his misfortune, a box, containing nine hundred cartridges, blew up on the poop, and set the ship on fire; which, however, was soon extinguished. In the mean time, the Captain threw out a signal of distress; to which no regard was paid*, till Captain Leslie, of the Bristol, coming from sea, and observing his situation, ran in between the Rippon and the battery; and engaged with such impetuosity, as made an immediate diversion in favour of Captain Jekyll, whose ship remained aground, notwithstanding all the assistance that could be given, till midnight, when she floated, and escaped from the very jaws of destruction. At seven in the evening, all the other large ships, having silenced the guns to which they had been respectively opposed, joined

* In all probability it was not perceived by the Commodore.

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the rest of the fleet. The four bombs being anchored near the shore, began to ply the town with shells and carcasses; so that in a little time the houses were in flames, the magazines of gunpowder blew up with the most terrible explosion; and about ten o'clock the whole place blazed out in one general conflagration. Next day, at two in the afternoon, the fleet came to an anchor in the road to Basseterre, where they found the hulls of divers ships which the enemy had set on fire at their approach: several ships turned out and endeavoured to escape, but were intercepted and taken by the English squadron. At five, the troops landed without opposition, and took possession of the town and citadel, which they found entirely abandoned. They learned from a Genoese deserter, that the regular troops of the island consisted of five companies only, the number of the whole not exceeding one hundred men; and that they had laid a train to blow up the powder magazine in the citadel: but had been obliged to retreat with such precipitation, as did not permit them to execute this design. The train was immediately cut off, and the magazine secured. The nails with which they had spiked up their cannon were drilled out by the matrosses; and in the mean time the British colours were hoisted on the parapet. Part of the troops took possession of an advantageous post on an eminence, and part entered the town, which still continued burning with great violence. In the morning, at daybreak, the enemy appeared, to the number of two thousand, about four miles from the town, as if they intended to throw up intrenchments in the neighbourhood

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neighbourhood of a house where the governor had fixed his head-quarters, declaring he would maintain his ground to the last extremity. To this resolution, indeed, he was encouraged by the nature of the ground, and the neighbourhood of a pass called the Dos d'Ane, a cleft through a mountainous ridge, opening a communication with Capesterre, a more level and beautiful part of the island. The ascent from Basseterre to this pass was so steep, and the way so broken and interrupted by rocks and gullies, that there was no prospect of attacking it with success, except at the first landing, when the inhabitants were under the dominion of a panic. They very soon recovered their spirits and recollection, assembled and fortified themselves among the hills, armed and arrayed their negroes, and affected to hold the invaders at defiance. A flag of truce being sent, with offers of terms to their Governor, the Chevalier d'Etriel, he rejected them in a letter, with which his subsequent conduct but ill agreed*. Indeed

* The letter was to this effect:

"To their Excellencies Mess. Hopson and Moore, General Officers of his Britannick Majesty at Basseterre.

"Gentlemen,

"I have received the letter which your Excellencies have done me the honour to write, of the twenty-fifth. You make me proposals which could arise from nothing but the facility with which you have got possession of the little town and citadel of Basseterre; for otherwise you ought to do me the justice to believe they could not be received. You have strength sufficient to subdue the exteriors of the island; but, with respect to the interiors, the match between us is equal. As to the consequences that may attend my refusal, I am persuaded they will be no other than such as are prescribed by the laws of war. Should we be disappointed in this particular, we have

deed from the beginning, his deportment had been such as gave a very unfavourable impression of his character. When the British squadron advanced to the attack, instead of visiting in person the citadel and the batteries, in order to encourage and animate his people by his exhortation and example, he retired out of the reach of danger to a distant plantation, where he remained a tame spectator of the destruction in which his principal town and citadel were involved. Next morning, when he ought to have exerted himself in preventing the disembarkation of the English troops, who had a difficult shore and violent surf to surmount, and when he might have defended the entrenchments and lines which had been made to oppose their landing; he abandoned all these advantages, and took shelter among the mountains that were deemed inaccessible. CHAP. XI. 1759.

§ V. But, howsoever deficient the Governor might have been in the article of courage, certain it is the inhabitants behaved with great spirit and activity in defence of their country. They continually harassed the scouring detachments, by firing upon them from woods and sugar plantations,

have a master powerful enough to revenge any injury we may sustain. I am with respect,

" Gentlemen,

" Your most obedient servant,

" NADAU D'ETREIL."

It is pretty remarkable, that the apprehension of cruel usage from the English, who are undoubtedly the most generous and humane enemies under the sun, not only prevailed among the common French soldiery throughout this whole war, but even infected officers of distinction, who ought to have been exempted from these prejudices, by a better acquaintance with life, and more liberal turn of thinking.

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which last the English burned about their ears in resentment. Their armed negroes were very expert in this kind of bush fighting. The natives or militia appeared in considerable parties, and even encountered detached bodies of the British army. A lady of masculine courage, whose name was Ducharmy, having armed her slaves, they made several bold attempts upon an advanced post, occupied by Major Melville, and threw up entrenchments upon a hill opposite to the station of this officer, who had all along signalized himself by his uncommon intrepidity, vigilance, and conduct. At length the works of this virago were stormed by a regular detachment, which, after an obstinate and dangerous conflict, entered the entrenchment sword in hand, and burned the houses and plantations. Some of the enemy were killed, and a great number taken. Of the English detachment twelve soldiers were slain, and thirty wounded, including three subaltern officers, one of whom lost his arm. The greatest body of the enemy always appeared at the Governor's headquarters, where they had raised a redoubt, and thrown up entrenchments. From these a considerable detachment advanced on the 6th day of February, in the morning, towards the citadel, and fell in with an English party, whom they engaged with great vivacity; but, after a short though warm dispute, they were obliged to retire with some loss. Without all doubt, the inhabitants of Guadaloupe pursued the most sensible plan that could possibly have been projected for their own safety. Instead of hazarding a general engagement against regular troops, in which they could

could have no prospect of success, they resolved to weary them out, by maintaining a kind of petty war in separate parties, to alarm and harass the English with hard duty in a sultry climate, where they were but indifferently supplied with provision and refreshment. Nor were their hopes in this particular disappointed. Both the army and the navy were invaded with fevers, and other diseases, epidemical in those hot countries; and the regimental hospitals were so crowded, that it was judged convenient to send five hundred sick men to the island of Antigua, where they might be properly attended.

§ VI. In the mean time, the reduction of the islanders on the side of Guadaloupe appearing more and more impracticable, the General resolved to transfer the seat of war to the eastern and more fertile part of the island, called Grande-terre, which, as we have already observed, was defended by a strong battery, called Fort-Louis. In pursuance of this determination, the great ships were sent round to Grande-terre, in order to reduce this fortification, which they accordingly attacked on the thirteenth day of February. After a severe cannonading, which lasted six hours, a body of marines being landed, with the Highlanders*, they drove the enemy from their entrenchments sword in hand; and, taking possession of the fort, hoisted the English colours. In a few days after this exploit, General Hopson dying at Basseterre, the chief command devolved on General Barrington,

* A reinforcement of two or three hundred Highlanders had joined the fleet immediately before the troops landed on Guadaloupe.

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who resolved to prosecute the final reduction of the island with vigour and dispatch. As one step towards this conquest, the Commodore ordered two ships of war to cruise off the island of St. Eustatia, and prevent the Dutch traders from assisting the natives of Guadaloupe, whom they had hitherto constantly supplied with provisions, since they retired to the mountains. General Barrington, on the very first day of his command, ordered the troops who were encamped to strike their tents and huts, that the enemy might imagine he intended to remain in this quarter; but in a few days the batteries in and about Basseterre were blown up and destroyed, the detachments recalled from the advanced posts, and the whole army reembarked, except one regiment, with a detachment of artillery, left in garrison at the citadel, the command of which was bestowed on Colonel Debrisay, an accomplished officer of great experience. The enemy no sooner perceived the coast clear than they descended from the hills, and endeavoured to take possession of the town, from which however they were driven by the fire of the citadel. They afterwards erected a battery, from whence they annoyed this fortification both with shot and shells, and even threatened a regular attack; but as often as they approached the place, they were repulsed by sallies from the castle*. In the midst of those hostilities, the gallant Debrisay, together with Major Trollop, one Lieutenant, two bombardiers, and several common soldiers, were blown up, and perished, by the explosion of a powder-

* The battery which they had raised was attacked at noon, taken, and destroyed by Captain Blomer, of the sixty-first regiment.

magazine

magazine at the flanked angle of the south-east bastion. The confusion necessarily produced by such an unfortunate accident, encouraged the enemy to come pouring down from the hills, in order to make their advantage of the disaster; but they were soon repulsed by the fire of the garrison. The General, being made acquainted with the fate of Colonel Debrisay, conferred the government of the fort upon Major Melville, and sent thither the chief engineer to repair and improve the fortifications. CHAP. XI. 1759.

§ VII. In the mean time, Commodore Moore having received certain intelligence that Mons. de Bompart had arrived at Martinique, with a squadron consisting of eight sail of the line and three frigates, having on board a whole battalion of Swiss, and some other troops, to reinforce the garrisons of the island, he called in his cruisers, and sailed immediately to the bay of Dominique, an island to windward, at the distance of nine leagues from Guadaloupe, whence he could always sail to oppose any design which the French commander might form against the operations of the British armaments. For what reason Mr. Moore did not sail immediately to the bay of Port-Royal in Martinique, where he knew the French squadron lay at anchor, we shall not pretend to determine. Had he taken that step, M. Bompart must either have given him battle, or retired into the Carenage, behind the citadel; in which last case, the English commander might have anchored between Pigeon-island and Fort-Negro, and thus blocked him up effectually. By retiring to Dominique, he left the sea open to French privateers,

who

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who roved along the coasts of these islands, and in a very little time carried into Martinique above fourscore merchant-ships belonging to the subjects of Great-Britain. These continual depredations committed under the nose of the English commodore, irritated the planters of the English islands, some of whom are said to have circulated unfavourable reports of that gentleman's character*.

§ VIII. General Barrington being left with no more than one ship of forty guns for the protection of the transports, formed a plan of prosecuting the war in Guadaloupe by detachments, and the success fully answered his expectation. He determined to make a descent on the division of the island called Grande-terre, and for that purpose allotted six hundred men; who, under the command of Colonel Crump, landed between the towns of St. Ann and St. François; and destroyed some

* The reasons assigned by the Commodore for his conduct in this particular, are these:—The bay of Dominique was the only place in which he could rendezvous and unite his squadron. Here he refreshed his men, who were grown sickly in consequence of subsisting on salt provision. Here he supplied his ships with plenty of fresh water. Here he had intercourse once or twice every day with General Barrington, by means of small vessels which passed and repassed from one island to the other. By remaining in this situation, he likewise maintained a communication with the English Leeward Islands, which being in a defenceless condition, their inhabitants were constantly soliciting the Commodore's protection; and here he supported the army, the commander of which was unwilling that he should remove to a greater distance. Had he sailed to Port-Royal, he would have found the enemy's squadron so disposed, that he could not have attacked them, unless M. de Bompart had been inclined to hazard an action. Had he anchored in the bay, all his cruisers must have been employed in conveying provision and stores to the squadron. There he could not have procured either fresh provisions or water; nor could he have had any communication with, or intelligence from, the army in the Leeward Islands, in less than eight or ten days.

batteries

batteries of the enemy, from whom he sustained very little opposition. While he was thus employed, a detachment of three hundred men attacked the town of Gosier, which, notwithstanding a severe fire, they took by storm, drove the garrison into the woods, set fire to the place, and demolished the battery and entrenchment raised for its defence. This service being happily performed, the detachment was ordered to force their way to Fort-Louis, while the garrison of that castle was directed to make two sallies, in order to favour their irruption. They accordingly penetrated, with some loss sustained in forcing a strong pass, and took possession of a battery which the enemy had raised against the English camp, in the neighbourhood of Fort-Louis. The General, having hitherto succeeded in his designs, formed the scheme of surprising at one time the three towns of Petit-bourg, Gonoyave, and St. Mary, situated on the Basseterre side of the little Cul de Sac, and committed the execution of it to the Colonels Clump and Clavering: but the night appointed for the service proved exceedingly dark and tempestuous; and the Negro conductors were so frightened, that they ran several of the flat-bottomed boats on the shoals that skirt this part of the island. Colonel Clavering landed with about eighty men; but found himself so entangled with mangrove trees, and the mud so impassably deep, that he was obliged to re-embark, though not before the enemy had discovered his design. This project having miscarried, the General detached the same commanders, whose gallantry and conduct cannot be sufficiently applauded, with a detachment

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detachment of fifteen hundred men, including one hundred and fifty volunteers from Antigua, to land in a bay not far from the town of Arnonville, at the bottom of the little Cul de Sac under the protection of his Majesty's ship Woolwich. The enemy made no opposition to their landing; but retreated, as the English advanced, to a strong entrenchment thrown up behind the river Licorne, a post of the utmost importance, as it covered the whole country as far as the bay of Mahaut, where provisions and supplies of all sorts were landed from St. Eustatia. The river was rendered inaccessible by a morass covered with mangroves, except at two narrow passes, which they had fortified with a redoubt and entrenchments well pallisaded, mounted with cannon, and defended by a numerous militia: besides the narrow roads, through which only they could be attacked, were intersected with deep and wide ditches. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the English commanders determined to hazard an assault. While four field-pieces and two howitzers maintained a constant fire upon the top of the entrenchments, the regiment of Duroure and the Highlanders advanced under this cover, firing by platoons with the utmost regularity. The enemy, intimidated by their cool and resolute behaviour, began to abandon the first entrenchment on the left. Then the Highlanders drawing their swords, and sustained by part of the regiment, threw themselves in with their usual impetuosity, and followed the fugitives pell-mell into the redoubt, of which they took possession: but they still maintained their ground within the entrenchments on the right, from whence

whence they annoyed the assailants both with musketry and cannon. In half an hour, an occasional bridge being made, the English troops passed the river, in order to attack this post, which the enemy abandoned with precipitation; notwithstanding all their haste, however, about seventy were taken prisoners, and among those some of the most considerable inhabitants of the island. This advantage cost the English two officers and thirteen men killed, and above fifty wounded. CHAP. XI. 1759.

§ IX. The roads being mended for the passage of the artillery, the troops advanced towards Petit-bourg, harassed in their march by flying bodies of the enemy, and arrived late at night on the banks of the river Lizarde, the only fords of which the French had fortified with strong entrenchments, protected by a battery of four cannon, erected on a rising ground in their rear. Colonel Clavering, while he amused them all night at this place by a constant fire into their lines, transported in two canoes, which he launched about a mile and a half farther down the river, a sufficient number of troops by day-break, to attack them on the other side in flank, while he advanced in front at the head of his little army; but they did not think proper to sustain the assault. On the contrary, they no sooner perceived his intention, than they forsook the post, and fled without order. Colonel Clavering, having passed the river, pursued them to Petit-bourg, which they had also fortified; and here he found Captain Uvedale, of the Grenada bomb-ketch, throwing shells into the redoubt. He forthwith sent detachments to occupy the neighbouring heights; a circumstance

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cumstance which the enemy no sooner observed, than they deserted the place, and retired with great expedition. On the fifteenth day of April Captain Steel destroyed a battery at Gonoyave, a strong post, which, though it might have been defended against an army, the French abandoned at his approach, after having made a hasty discharge of their artillery. At the same time Colonel Crump was detached with seven hundred men to the bay of Mahaut, where he burned the town and batteries, which he found abandoned, together with a vast quantity of provisions, which had been brought from the island of St. Eustatia. Colonel Clavering, having left a small garrison at Petitbourg, began his March on the twentieth day of the month towards St. Mary's, where he understood the enemy had collected their whole force; thrown up entrenchments, and raised barricadoes: but they had left their rear unguarded. The English commander immediately detached Colonel Barlow, with a body of troops, to attack them from that quarter, while he himself advanced against the front of their entrenchment. They stood but one cannon-shot, and then fled to their lines and batteries at St. Mary's, the flanks of which were covered with woods and precipices. When they perceived the English troops endeavouring to surmount these difficulties, and turn their lines, they quitted them, in order to oppose the design; and were immediately attacked with such vivacity, in the face of a severe fire of musketry and cannon, that they abandoned their ground, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving the field and all their artillery to the victors, who

took up their quarters for that night at St. Mary's. Next day they entered the charming country of Capesterre, where eight hundred and seventy negroes belonging to one planter surrendered at discretion. Here Colonel Clavering was met by Messieurs de Clainvilliers and Duqueruy, deputed by the principal inhabitants of the island to know what capitulation would be granted. These he conducted to Petit-bourg, where they were presented to General Barrington; who, considering the absence of the fleet, the small number of his forces, daily diminishing, the difficulty of the country, and the possibility of the enemy's being reinforced from Martinique, wisely took the advantage of the present panic, and settled terms of capitulation without delay. The sanity of this resolution soon appeared. The inhabitants had just signed the agreement, when a messenger arrived in their camp, with information that M. de Beauharnois, the General of the French islands, had landed at St. Anne's, to the windward, with a reinforcement from Martinique, consisting of six hundred regulars from Europe, about fifteen hundred volunteers, besides a great number of the militia drafted from the companies of Martinique, with a great supply of arms and ammunition, mortars and artillery, under convoy of the squadron commanded by M. de Bompart; who no sooner learned that the capitulation was signed, than he re-embarked the troops and stores with all possible expedition, and returned to Martinique. Thus we see the conquest of this important island, which is said to produce a greater quantity of sugar than is made in any of the English plantations, was as much

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much owing to accident as to the valour of the troops and the conduct of the General: for, had the reinforcement arrived an hour sooner than it actually landed; in all probability the English would have found it impracticable to finish the reduction of Guadaloupe. Be that as it may, the natives certainly deserved great commendation, not only for persevering so gallantly in defence of their country, but also for their fortitude in bearing every species of distress. They now quitted the Dos d'Ane, and all their other posts, and returned to their respective habitations. The town of Basseterre being reduced to a heap of ashes, the inhabitants began to clear away the rubbish, and erect occasional sheds, where they resumed their several occupations with that good humour so peculiar to the French nation; and General Barrington humanely indulged them with all the assistance in his power.

§ X. The small islands of Deseada, Los Santos, and Petit-terre were comprised in the capitulation of Guadaloupe. The inhabitants of Marigalante, which lies about three leagues to the south-east of Grande-terre, extending twenty miles in length, fifteen in breadth, flat and fertile, but poorly watered and ill fortified, having refused to submit when summoned by the squadron to surrender, General Barrington resolved to reduce them by force. He embarked a body of troops on board of transports, which sailed thither under convoy of three ships of war and two bomb vessels from Prince Rupert's Bay, and at their appearance the islanders submitting, received an English garrison. Before this period, Commodore Moore having

received intelligence that M. de Bompart had sailed from Martinique, with design to land a reinforcement on Guadaloupe, and that his squadron was seen seven leagues to windward of Marigalante, he sailed from Prince Rupert's Bay, and turned to windward. After having been beating about for five days to very little purpose, he received notice from one of his cruisers, that the French Admiral had returned to Martinique; upon which information he retired quietly to his former station in the bay of Dominique, the people of which were so insolent as to affirm, in derision, that the English squadron sailed on one side of the island, and the French upon the other, that they might be sure of not meeting; but this, without doubt, was an impudent calumny*.

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§ XI. General Barrington, having happily finished the conquest of Guadaloupe, gave notice to the Commodore, that he intended to send back part of the troops, with the transports, to England, about the beginning of July. In consequence of this intimation, Mr. Moore sailed with his squadron to Basseterre road, where he was

* The Commodore declared that he carried a press-sail night and day; in order to come up with the French squadron, and took every step that could be devised for that purpose. He says, if he had pursued any other course, the French commander might have run into the road of St. Kit's, and destroyed or taken a great number of merchant ships which were then loading with sugar for England.

He says he tried every stratagem he could contrive for bringing M. de Bompart to action. He even sent away part of his squadron out of sight of the inhabitants of Dominique, that they might represent to their friends at Martinique his force much inferior to what it really was; but this expedient had no effect upon M. de Bompart, who made the best of his way to Cape François, on the island of Hispaniola.

next

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next day joined by two ships of the line from England, which rendered him greatly superior in strength to the commander of the French squadron, who had retired to the island of Grenada, lying about eight leagues form Guadaloupe. Here he was discovered by the ship Rippon, whose captain returned immediately to Basseterre, to make the Commodore acquainted with this circumstance: but, before he could weigh anchor, a frigate arrived, with information that Bompart had quitted Grenada, and was supposed to have directed his course to Hispaniola. The Commodore immediately dispatched the Ludlow-Castle with this intelligence to Admiral Coats, who commanded the squadron at Jamaica. General Barrington having made a tour of the island, in order to visit and repair such fortifications as he thought necessary to be maintained, and the affairs relating to the inhabitants being entirely settled, he sent the Highlanders, with a body of drafts, to North-America, under convoy: he garrisoned the principal strengths of the island, and left the chief command to Colonel Crump, who had for some time acted as Brigadier-General; Colonel Clavering having been sent home to England with the account of the capitulation. Colonel Melville, who had signalized himself in a remarkable manner ever since their first landing, continued governor of the citadel at Basseterre; and the command at Grande-terre was conferred on Colonel Delgarno. Three compleat regiments were allotted as a sufficient guard for the whole island, and the other three were embarked for England. General Barrington himself went on board the Roebuck

Roebuck in the latter end of June, and took his departure for England. About a month after, the transports, under convoy of Captain Hughes, with a small squadron, set sail for Great-Britain; while Commodore Moore, with his large fleet, directed his course to Antigua. CHAP. XI. 1759.

§ XII. While this armament had been employed in the conquest of Guadaloupe, North America exhibited still more sanguinary scenes of war and devastation; which in order properly to introduce, it will be necessary to explain the steps that were taken on this continent, previous to this campaign. In October of the preceding year, a grand assembly was held at Easton, about ninety miles from Philadelphia; and there peace was established, by a formal treaty, between Great-Britain and the several nations of Indians inhabiting the country between the Apalachian Mountains and the Lakes. The Twightwees, however, settled between the river Ohio and the Lakes, did not assist at this treaty, though some steps had been taken towards an alliance with that people. The conferences were managed by the governors of Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, accompanied by Sir William Johnston's deputy for Indian affairs, four members of the council of Pennsylvania, six members of the assembly, two agents for the province of New-Jersey, a great number of planters and citizens of Philadelphia, chiefly Quakers. They were met by the deputies and chiefs of the Mohawks, Oneidoes, Onondagoes, Cayugas, Senecas, Tuscaroras, Nanticoques, and Conoys, the Tuteloes, Chugnues, Delawares, and Unamies, the Minisinks, Mohicons, and Wappingers; the whole

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whole number, including their women and children, amounting to five hundred. Some of the Six Nations, thinking themselves aggrieved by the British colonists, who had imprisoned certain individuals of their nation, and had killed a few, and treated others with contempt, did not fail to express their resentment, which had been artfully fomented by the French emissaries, even into an open rupture. The Delawares and Minisinks, in particular, complained that the English had encroached upon their lands, and on that account were provoked to hostilities: but their chief, Teedyuscung, had made overtures of peace; and in the character of Ambassador from all the ten nations had been very instrumental in forming this assembly. The chiefs of the Six Nations, though very well disposed to peace, took umbrage at the importance assumed by one of the Delawares, over whom, as their decendants, they exercise a kind of parental authority; and on this occasion they made no scruple to disclose their dissatisfaction. The business, therefore, of the English Governors at this congress, was to ascertain the limits of the lands in dispute, reconcile the Six Nations with their nephews the Delawares, remove every cause of misunderstanding between the English and the Indians, detach these savages entirely from the French interest, establish a firm peace, and induce them to exert their influence in persuading the Twightwees to accede to this treaty. Those Indians, though possessed of few ideas, circumscribed in their mental faculties, stupid, brutal, and ferocious, conduct themselves, nevertheless, in matters of importance to the community,

munity, by the general maxims of reason and justice; and their treaties are always founded upon good sense, conveyed in a very ridiculous manner. Their language is guttural, harsh, and pollysyllabical; and their speech consists of hyperbolical metaphors and similes, which invest it with an air of dignity, and heighten the expression. They manage their conferences by means of wampum, a kind of bead, formed of a hard shell, either in single strings, or sewed in broad belts of different dimensions, according to the importance of the subject. Every proposition is offered, every answer made, every promise corroborated, every declaration attested, and every treaty confirmed, by producing and interchanging these belts of wampum. The conferences were continued from the eighth to the twenty-sixth day of October, when every article was settled to the mutual satisfaction of all parties. The Indian deputies were gratified with a valuable present, consisting of looking glasses, knives, tobacco-boxes, sleeve-buttons, thimbles, shears, gun-locks, ivory combs, shirts, shoes, stockings, hats, caps, handkerchiefs, thread, clothes, blankets, gartering, serges, watch-coats, and a few suits of laced clothes for their chieftains. To crown their happiness, the stores of rum were opened: they drank themselves into a state of brutal intoxication, and next day returned in peace to their respective places of habitation.

§ XIII. This treaty with the Indians, who had been debauched from the interest of Great-Britain, auspiciously paved the way for those operations which had been projected against the French

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settlements in Canada. Instead of employing the whole strength of the British arms in North America against one object, the ministry proposed to divide the forces, and make impressions on three different parts at once, that the enemy might be divided, distracted, and weakened, and the conquest of Canada completed in one campaign. That the success might be the more certain, the different expeditions were planned in such a manner as to co-operate with each other, and even join occasionally; so practicable was it thought for them to maintain such a correspondence as would admit of a junction of this nature. The project of this campaign imported, that General Wolfe, who had distinguished himself so eminently in the siege of Louisbourg, should proceed up the river St. Laurence, as soon as the navigation should be clear of ice, with a body of eight thousand men, and a considerable squadron of ships from England, to undertake the siege of Quebeck, the capital of Canada: that General Amherst, who commanded in chief, should, with another army of regular troops and provincials, amounting to twelve thousand men, reduce Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, cross the lake Champlain, and, proceeding along the river Richelieu to the banks of the river St. Laurence, join General Wolfe in the siege of Quebeck; that Brigadier-General Prideaux, with a third body, reinforced with a considerable number of friendly Indians, assembled by the influence and under the command of Sir William Johnston, should invest the French fort erected by the fall or cataract of Niagara, which was certainly the most important post

post of all French America, as it in a manner commanded all the interior parts of that vast continent. It overawed the whole country of the Six Nations, who were cajoled into a tame acquiescence in its being built on their territory: it secured all the inland trade, the navigation of the great lakes, the communication between Canada and Louisiana, and opened a passage for inroads into the colonies of Great-Britain. It was proposed that the British forces, having reduced Niagara, should be embarked on the lake Ontario, fall down the river St. Laurence, besiege and take Montreal, and then join or co-operate with Amherst's army. Besides these larger armaments, Colonel Stanwix commanded a smaller detachment for reducing smaller forts, and scouring the banks of the lake Ontario. How far this project was founded on reason and military knowledge, may be judged by the following particulars, of which the projectors were not ignorant. The navigation of the river St. Laurence is dangerous and uncertain. The city of Quebeck was remarkably strong from situation and fortification, from the bravery of the inhabitants, and the number of the garrison. Monsieur de Montcalm, an officer of great courage and activity, kept the field between Montreal and Quebeck, with a body of eight or ten thousand men, consisting of regular troops and disciplined militia, reinforced by a considerable number of armed Indians; and another body of reserve hovered in the neighbourhood of Montreal, which was the residence of Monsieur de Vaudreuil, Governor-General of Canada. The garrison of Niagara consisted of above

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six hundred men; the march to it was tedious and embarrassed; and Monsieur de Levi scoured the country with a flying detachment, well acquainted with all the woods and passes. With respect to General Amherst's share of the plan, the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown-Point stood in his way. The enemy were masters of the lake Champlain, and possessed the strong fort of Chambly, by the fall of the river Richelieu, which defended the pass to the river St. Laurence. Even had these obstacles been removed, it was hardly possible that he and Mr. Wolfe should arrive at Quebeck in the same instant of time. The first that reached it, far from being in a condition to undertake the siege of Quebeck, would have run the risk of being engaged and defeated by the covering army; in which case, the other body must have been exposed to the most imminent hazard of destruction in the midst of an enemy's country, far distant from any place of safety to which it could retreat. Had these disasters happened (and, according to the experience of war, they were the natural consequences of the scheme), the troops at Niagara would, in all probability, have fallen an easy sacrifice, unless they had been so fortunate as to receive intelligence time enough to accomplish their retreat before they could be intercepted. The design would, we apprehend, have been more justifiable, or at least not so liable to objection, had Mr. Amherst left two or three regiments to protect the frontiers of New-York, and, joining Mr. Wolfe with the rest, sailed up the river St. Laurence to besiege Quebeck. Even in that case the whole number of his troops would not have been

been sufficient, according to the practice of war to invest the place, and cope with the covering enemy. Nevertheless, had the enterprize succeeded, Montcalm must either have hazarded an engagement against great odds, or retired farther into the country: then the route would have been open by land and water to Montreal, which could have made little resistance. The two principal towns being taken, and the navigation of the river St. Laurence blocked up, all the dependent forts must have surrendered at discretion, except Niagara, which there was a bare possibility of supplying, at an incredible trouble and expence, from the distant Mississippi; but, even then, it might have been besieged in form, and easily reduced. Whatever defects there might have been in the plan, the execution, though it miscarried in some essential points, was attended with surprising success. The same good fortune that prospered the British arms so remarkably in the conquest of Guadaloupe, seemed to interpose still more astonishingly in their favour at Quebeck, the siege of which we shall record in its proper place. At present, we must attend the operations of General Amherst, whose separate army was first in motion, though such impediments were thrown in his way as greatly retarded the progress of his operations; impediments said to have arisen from the pride, insolence, and obstinacy of certain individuals, who possessed great influence in that part of the world, and employed it all to thwart the service of their country.

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§ XIV. The summer was already far advanced before General Amherst could pass lake George with

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with his forces, although they met with no opposition, and reach the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, where, in the preceding year, the British troops had sustained such a terrible disaster. At first the enemy seemed determined to defend this fortress: but perceiving the English Commander resolute, cautious, and well prepared for undertaking the siege; having, moreover, orders to retreat from place to place, towards the centre of operations at Quebeck, rather than run the least risk of being made prisoners of war, they, in the night of July the twenty-seventh, abandoned the post after having in some measure dismantled the fortifications: and retired to Crown-Point, a fort situated on the verge of lake Champlain. General Amherst having taken possession of this important post, which effectually covered the frontiers of New-York, and secured to himself a safe retreat in case of necessity, ordered the works to be repaired, and allotted a strong garrison for its defence. This acquisition, however, was not made without the loss of a brave accomplished young officer, Colonel Roger Townshend, who in reconnoitring the fort, was killed with a cannon-shot, and fell near the same spot which in the former year had been enriched with the blood of the gallant Lord Howe, whom he strongly resembled in the circumstances of birth, age, qualifications, and character.

§ XV. While the General superintended the repairs of Ticonderoga, and the men were employed in preparing batteaux and other vessels, his scouting parties hovered in the neighbourhood of Crown-Point, in order to watch the motions of the

the enemy. From one of these detachments he received intelligence, on the first day of August, that the enemy had retired from Crown-Point. He immediately detached a body of rangers before him to take possession of the place: then he embarked with the rest of the army; and on the fourth day of the month landed at the fort, where the troops were immediately encamped. His next care was to lay the foundation of a new fort, to be maintained for the further security of the British dominions in that part of the country; and particularly for preventing the inroads of scalping parties, by whom the plantations had been dreadfully infested. Here information was received that the enemy had retired to the Isle aux Noix, at the other end of the lake Champlain, five leagues on the hither side of St. John's; that their force encamped in that place, under the command of M. de Burlemaque, consisted of three battalions and five piquets of regular troops, with Canadians and marines, amounting in the whole to three thousand five hundred effective men, provided with a numerous artillery; and that the Lake was occupied by four large vessels, mounted with cannon, and manned with piquets of different regiments, under the command and direction of M. Le Bras, a captain in the French navy, assisted by M. De Rigal, and other sea officers. In consequence of this intimation, General Amherst, who had for some time employed captain Loring to superintend the building of vessels at Ticonderoga, being resolved to have the superiority on the Lake, directed the captain to build with all possible expedition a sloop of sixteen guns and a radeau eighty-

four

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four feet in length, capable of carrying six large cannon. These, together with a brigantine, being finished, victualled and manned by the eleventh day of October, the General embarked with the whole of the troops in batteaux, in order to attack the enemy; but next day, the weather growing tempestuous, was obliged to take shelter in a bay on the western shore, where the men were landed for refreshment. In the mean time, Captain Loring, with his small squadron, sailing down the Lake, gave chace to a French schooner, and drove three of their ships into a bay, where two of them were sunk, and the third run aground by their own crew, who escaped: one, however, was repaired and brought away by Captain Loring, so that now the French had but one schooner remaining. General Amherst, after having been some days wind-bound, re-embarked his forces, and proceeded down the lake; but the storm, which had abated, beginning to blow with redoubled fury, so as to swell the waves mountain high, the season for action being elapsed, and winter setting in with the most rigorous severity, he saw the impossibility of accomplishing his design, and was obliged to desist. Returning to the same bay where he had been sheltered, he landed the troops, and began his march for Crown-Point, where he arrived on the twenty-first day of October. Having secured a superiority on the lake, he now employed all his attention in rearing the new fortress at Crown-Point, together with three small out-forts for its better defence; in opening roads of communication with Ticonderoga, and the governments of Massachuset's and

New

New Hampshire; and in making dispositions for the winter-quarters of his troops, so as to protect the country from the inroads of the enemy. CHAP. XI. 1759.

§ XVI. During this whole summer he received not the least intelligence of Mr. Wolfe's operations, except a few hints in some letters relating to the exchange of prisoners, that came from the French General, Montcalm, who gave him to understand that Mr. Wolfe had landed in the neighbourhood of Quebeck, and seemed determined to undertake the siege of that city; that he had honoured him (the French General) with several notes, sometimes couched in a soothing strain, sometimes filled with threats; that the French army intended to give him battle, and a few days would determine the fate of Quebeck. Though Mr. Amherst was ignorant of the proceedings of the Quebeck squadron, his communication continued open with the forces which undertook the siege of Niagara; and he received an account of their success before he had quitted the lines of Ticonderoga. General Prideaux, with his body of troops, reinforced by the Indian auxiliaries under Sir William Johnston, advanced to the cataract of Niagara, without being exposed to the least inconvenience on his march; and investing the French fortress about the middle of July, carried on his approaches with great vigour till the twentieth day of that month, when, visiting the trenches, he was unfortunately slain by the bursting of a cohorn. Mr. Amherst was no sooner informed of his disaster, than he detached Brigadier-General Gage from Ticonderoga, to assume the command of that army. In the mean time, it devolved

BOOK III. devolved on Sir William Johnston, who happily prosecuted the plan of his predecessor with all the
1759. success that could have been desired. The enemy, alarmed with the apprehension of losing a place of such importance, resolved to exert their endeavours for its relief. They assembled a body of regular troops, amounting to twelve hundred men, drawn from Detroit, Venango, and Presque Isle; and these, with a number of Indian auxiliaries, were detached under the command of Monsieur D'Aubry, on an attempt to reinforce the garrison of Niagara. Sir William Johnston having received intelligence of their design, made a disposition to intercept them in their march. In the evening he ordered the light infantry and picquets to post themselves to the left, on the road leading from Niagara Falls to the fortress: these were reinforced in the morning with the grenadiers, and part of the forty-sixth regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Massey; and another regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Farquhar, was posted at the tail of the works, in order to support the guard of the trenches. About eight in the morning, the enemy being in sight, the Indians in the English army advanced to speak with their countrymen who served under the French banners; but this conference was declined by the enemy. Then the French Indians having uttered the horrible scream called the war-whoop, which by this time had lost its effect among the British forces, the enemy began the action with impetuosity: but they met with such a hot reception in front, while the Indian auxiliaries fell upon thir flanks, that in a little more than half an hour their whole army was routed,

routed, their General, with all his officers, taken, and the pursuit continued through the woods for several miles, with considerable slaughter. This battle, which happened on the twenty-fourth day of July, having been fought in sight of the French garrison at Niagara, Sir William Johnston sent Major Harvey with a trumpet to the commanding officer, to present him with a list of seventeen officers taken in the engagement, and to exhort him to surrender before more blood was shed, while he had it in his power to restrain the Indians. The Commandant, having certified himself of the truth, by sending an officer to visit the prisoners, agreed to treat, and in a few hours the capitulation was ratified. The garrison, consisting of six hundred and seven effective men, marched out with the honours of war, in order to be embarked in vessels on the lake, and conveyed in the most expeditious manner to New-York. They laid down their arms when they embarked; but were permitted to keep their baggage, and by proper escorte protected from the savage insolence and rapacity of the Indians. All the women were conducted, at their own request, to Montreal; and the sick and wounded, who could not bear the fatigue of travelling, were treated with humanity. This was the second complete victory obtained on the continent of North-America, in the course of the same war, by Sir William Johnston, who, without the help of a military education, succeeded so signally in the field by dint of innate courage and natural sagacity. What remarkably characterizes these battles, is the circumstance of his having taken in both the commanders of the enemy. Indeed,

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deed, the war in general may be distinguished by the singular success of this gentleman and the celebrated Lord Clive, two self-taught generals; who, by a series of shining actions, have demonstrated that uninstructed genius can, by its own internal light and efficacy, rival, if not eclipse, the acquired art of discipline and experience. Sir William Johnston was not more serviceable to his country by his valour and conduct in the field, than by the influence and authority which his justice, benevolence, and integrity had acquired among the Indian tribes of the Six Nations, whom he not only assembled at Niagara to the number of eleven hundred, but also restrained within the bounds of good order and moderation.

§ XVII. The reduction of Niagara, and the possession of Crown-Point, were exploits much more easily achieved than the conquest of Quebeck, the great object to which all these operations were subordinate. Of that we now come to give the detail, fraught with singular adventures and surprising events, in the course of which a noble spirit of enterprize was displayed, and the scenes of war were exhibited in all the variety of desolation. It was about the middle of February that a considerable squadron sailed from England for Cape-Breton, under the command of Admirals Saunders and Holmes, two gentlemen of worth and probity, who had on several occasions signalized their courage and conduct in the service of their country. By the twenty-first day of April they were in sight of Louisbourg; but the harbour was blocked up with ice in such a manner, that they were obliged to bear away for Halifax in Nova-Scotia. From hence

hence Rear-Admiral Durell was detached, with a small squadron, to sail up the river St. Laurence as far as the isle de Coudres, in order to intercept any supplies from France intended for Quebeck: he accordingly took two store ships; but he was anticipated by seventeen sail, laden with provision, stores, and some recruits, under convoy of three frigates, which had already reached the capital of Canada. Meanwhile Admiral Saunders arrived at Louisbourg; and the troops being embarked, to the number of eight thousand, proceeded up the river without further delay. The operations by land were entrusted to the conduct of Major-General James Wolfe, whose talents had shone with such superior lustre at the siege of Louisbourg; and his subordinates in command were the Brigadiers Monckton, Townshend, and Murray; all four in the flower of their age, who had studied the military art with equal eagerness and proficiency, and, though young in years, were old in experience. The first was a soldier by descent, the son of Major-General Wolfe, a veteran officer of acknowledged capacity: the other three resembled each other, not only in years, qualifications, and station, but also in family rank, all three being the sons of noblemen. The situation of Brigadier Townshend was singular: he had served abroad in the last war with reputation, and resigned his commission during the peace, in disdain at some hard usage he had sustained from his superiors. That his military talents, however, might not be lost to his country, he exercised them with equal spirit and perseverance in projecting and promoting the plan of a national militia. When the command-

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and direction of the army devolved to a new leader, so predominant in his breast was the spirit of patriotism and the love of glory, that though heir apparent to a British peerage, possessed of a very affluent fortune, remarkably dear to his acquaintance, and solicited to a life of quiet by every allurement of domestic felicity, he waved these considerations: he burst from all entanglements; proffered his services to his sovereign; exposed himself to the perils of a disagreeable voyage, the rigours of a severe climate, and the hazard of a campaign peculiarly fraught with toil, danger, and difficulty.

§ XVIII. The armament intended for Quebeck sailed up the river St. Laurence, without having met with any interruption, or having perceived any of those difficulties and perils with which it had been reported that the navigation of it was attended. Their good fortune in this particular, indeed, was owing to some excellent charts of the river, which had been found in vessels taken from the enemy. About the latter end of June the land-forces were disembarked in two divisions upon the isle of Orleans, situated a little below Quebeck, a large fertile island, well cultivated, producing plenty of grain, abounding with people, villages, and plantations. General Wolfe no sooner landed on the island of Orleans, than he distributed a manifesto among the French colonists, giving them to understand that the King his master, justly exasperated against the French monarch, had equipped a considerable armament in order to humble his pride, and was determined to reduce the most considerable French settlements in America. He declared

declared it was not against the industrious peasants, their wives and children, nor against the ministers of religion, that he intended to make war; on the contrary, he lamented the misfortunes to which they must be exposed by the quarrel; he offered them his protection; and promised to maintain them in their temporal possessions, as well as in the free exercise of their religion, provided they would remain quiet, and take no part in the difference between the two crowns. He observed that the English were masters of the river St. Laurence, so as to intercept all succours from Europe; and had, besides, a powerful army on the continent, under the command of General Amherst. He affirmed that the resolution they ought to take was neither difficult nor doubtful; as the utmost exertion of their valour would be useless, and serve only to deprive them of the advantages which they might reap from their neutrality. He reminded them that the cruelties exercised by the French upon the subjects of Great-Britain in America, would excuse the most severe reprisals; but Britons were too generous to follow such barbarous examples. He again offered to the Canadians the sweets of peace, amidst the horrors of war; and left it to themselves to determine their own fate by their own conduct. He expressed his hope that the world would do him justice, should they oblige him, by rejecting these favourable terms, to adopt violent measures. He expatiated upon the strength and power, as well as upon the generosity, of Great-Britain, in thus stretching out the hand of humanity; a hand ready to assist them on all occasions, even when France was, by her

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weakness, compelled to abandon them in the most critical conjuncture. This declaration produced no immediate effect; nor indeed did the Canadians depend upon the sincerity and promised faith of a nation, whom their priests had industriously represented as the most savage and cruel enemy on earth. Possessed of these notions, which prevailed even among the better sort, they chose to abandon their habitations, and expose themselves and families to certain ruin, in provoking the English by the most cruel hostilities, rather than be quiet, and confide in the General's promise of protection. Instead of pursuing this prudent plan of conduct, they joined the scalping parties* of Indians who skulked among the woods; and falling upon the English stragglers by surprise, butchered them with the most inhuman barbarity. Mr. Wolfe, whose nature revolted against this wanton and perfidious cruelty, sent a letter to the French General, representing that such enormities were contrary to the rules of war observed among civilized nations, dishonourable to the service of France,

* The operation of scalping, which, to the shame of both nations, was encouraged both by French and English, the savages performed in this manner:—The hapless victim being disabled, or disarmed, the Indian, with a sharp knife provided and worn for the purpose, makes a circular incision to the bone round the upper part of the head, and tears off the scalp with his fingers. Previous to this execution, he generally dispatches the prisoner by repeated blows on the head with the hammer side of the instrument called a tomahawk: but sometimes they save themselves the trouble, and sometimes the blows prove ineffectual; so that the miserable patient is found alive, groaning in the utmost agony of torture. The Indian strings the scalps he has procured, to be produced as a testimony of his prowess, and receives a premium for each from the nation under whose banners he has been enlisted.

and

desired the French colonists and Indians might be restrained within due bounds, otherwise he would burn their villages, desolate their plantations, and retaliate upon the persons of his prisoners whatever cruelties should, in the sequel, be committed on the soldiers or subjects of his master. In all probability the French General's authority was not sufficient to bridle the ferocity of the savages, who continued to scalp and murder, with the most brutal appetite for blood and revenge; so that Mr. Wolfe, in order to intimidate the enemy into a cessation of these outrages, found it necessary to connive at some irregularities in the way of retaliation.

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§ XIX. M. de Montcalm, who commanded the French troops, though superior in number to the invaders, very wisely resolved to depend upon the natural strength of the country, which appeared almost insurmountable, and had carefully taken all his precautions of defence. The city of Quebec was tolerably fortified, secured with a numerous garrison, and plentifully supplied with provision and ammunition. Montcalm had reinforced the troops of the colony with five regular battalions formed of the best of the inhabitants, completely disciplined all the Canadians of the neighbourhood capable of bearing arms, and several tribes of savages. With this army he had taken the field in a very advantageous situation, encamped along the shore of Beaufort, from the river St. Charles to the Falls of Montmorenci, every accessible part being deeply entrenched. To undertake the siege of Quebec against such odds and advantages, was not only a deviation from the established maxims

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of war, but a rash enterprize, seemingly urged in diametrical opposition to the dictates of common sense. Mr. Wolfe was well acquainted with all the difficulties of the undertaking; but he knew at the same time he should always have it in his power to retreat, in case of emergency, while the British squadron maintained its station in the river; he was not without hope of being joined by General Amherst; and he was stimulated by an appetite for glory, which the prospect of accumulated dangers could not allay. Understanding that there was a body of the enemy posted, with cannon, at the point of Levi, on the south shore, opposite to the city of Quebec, he detached against them Brigadier Monckton, at the head of four battalions, who passed the river at night, and next morning, having skirmished with some of the enemy's irregulars, obliged them to retire from that post, which the English immediately occupied. At the same time Colonel Carlton, with another detachment, took possession of the western point of the island of Orleans; and both these posts were fortified, in order to anticipate the enemy; who, had they kept possession of either, might have rendered it impossible for any ship to lie at anchor within two miles of Quebec. Besides, the point of Levi was within cannon-shot of the city, against which a battery of mortars and artillery was immediately erected. Montcalm, foreseeing the effect of this manœuvre, detached a body of sixteen hundred men across the river, to attack and destroy the works before they were completed; but the detachment fell into disorder, fired upon each other, and retired in confusion. The battery

tery being finished without further interruption, the cannons and mortars began to play with such success, that in a little time the upper town was considerably damaged, and the lower town reduced to a heap of rubbish. CHAP. XI. 1759.

§ XX. In the mean time, the fleet was exposed to the most imminent danger. Immediately after the troops had been landed on the island of Orleans, the wind increased to a furious storm, which blew with such violence, that many transports ran foul of one another, and were disabled. A number of boats and small craft foundered, and divers large ships lost their anchors. The enemy resolving to take advantage of the confusion which they imagined this disaster must have produced, prepared seven fire-ships; and at midnight sent them down from Quebec among the transports, which lay so thick as to cover the whole surface of the river. The scheme, though well contrived, and seasonably executed, was entirely defeated by the deliberation of the British Admiral, and the dexterity of his mariners, who resolutely boarded the fire-ships, and towed them fast aground, where they lay burning to the water's edge, without having done the least prejudice to the English squadron. On the very same day of the succeeding month, they sent down a raft of fire-ships, or radeaux, which were likewise consumed without producing any effect.

§ XXI. The works for the security of the hospital and the stores, on the island of Orleans, being finished, the British forces crossed the north channel in boats; and, landing under cover of two sloops, encamped on the side of the river of Montmorenci, which divided them from the left of the enemy.

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Next morning a company of rangers, posted in a wood to cover some workmen, were attacked by the French Indians, and totally defeated; however, the nearest troops advancing, repulsed the Indians in their turn with considerable loss. The reasons that induced General Wolfe to chuse this situation by the Falls of Montmorenci, in which he was divided from Quebec by this, and another river called St. Charles, he explained in a letter to the Secretary of State. He observed, that the ground which he had chosen was high, and in some measure commanded the opposite side on which the enemy was posted; that there was a ford below the Falls, passable in every tide for some hours at the latter part of the ebb and beginning of the flood; and he hoped that means might be found of passing the river higher up, so as to fight the Marquis de Montcalm upon less disadvantageous terms than those of directly attacking his entrenchments. Accordingly, in reconnoitring the river Montmorenci, a ford was discovered about three miles above; but the opposite banks, which were naturally steep and covered with woods, the enemy had entrenched in such a manner, as to render it almost inaccessible. The escorte was twice attacked by the Indians, who were as often repulsed; but these rencounters cost the English about forty men killed aud wounded, including some officers. Some shrewd objections might be started to the General's choice of ground on this occasion. He could not act at all without passing the river Montmorenci at a very great disadvantage, and attacking an enemy superior to himself in number, secured by redoubts and entrenchments. Had he even, by dint of extraordinary valour, driven them from these

these strong posts, the success must have cost him a great number of officers and men: and the enemy might have retreated behind the river St. Charles, which he also must have passed under the same disadvantages, before he could begin his operations against the city of Quebec. Had his good fortune enabled him to surmount all these difficulties, and after all to defeat the enemy in a pitched battle, the garrison of Quebec might have been reinforced by the wreck of their army; and he could not, with any probability of success, have undertaken the siege of an extensive fortified place, which he had not troops sufficient to invest, and whose garrison would have been nearly equal in number to the sum total of the troops he commanded. At any rate, the chance of a fair engagement in the open field was what he had little reason to expect in that situation, from the known experience, and the apparent conduct, of the French General. These objections appeared so obvious and important, that General Wolfe would not determine to risk an attack until he had surveyed the upper part of the river St. Laurence, in hopes of finding some place more favourable for a descent. CHAP. XI. 1759.

§ XXII. On the eighteenth day of July, the Admiral, at his request, sent two ships of war; two armed sloops, and some transports with troops on board, up the river; and they passed the city of Quebec, without having sustained any damage. The General, being on board of this little armament, carefully observed the banks on the side of the enemy, which were extremely difficult from the nature of the ground; and these difficulties were redoubled by the foresight and pre-

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BOOK III. caution of the French commander. Though a descent seemed impracticable between the city and Cape Rouge, where it was intended, General Wolfe, in order to divide the enemy's force, and procure intelligence, ordered a detachment, under the command of Colonel Carlton, to land higher up, at the Point au Tremble, to which place he was informed a great number of the inhabitants of Quebec had retired with their most valuable effects. This service was performed with little loss; and some prisoners were brought away, but no magazine was discovered. The General, thus disappointed in his expectation, returned to Montmorenci, where Brigadier Townshend had, by maintaining a superior fire across that river, prevented the enemy from erecting a battery, which would have commanded the English camp; and now he resolved to attack them, though posted to great advantage, and every where prepared to give him a warm reception. His design was, first to reduce a detached redoubt, close to the water's edge, seemingly situated without gun-shot of the entrenchment on the hill. Should this fortification be supported by the enemy, he foresaw that he should be able to bring on a general engagement: on the contrary, should they remain tame spectators of its reduction, he could afterwards examine their situation at leisure, and determine the place at which they could be most easily attacked. Preparations were accordingly made for storming the redoubt. On the last day of July, in the forenoon, part of Brigadier Monckton's brigade was embarked in the boats of the fleet, to be transported from the point of Levi. The two brigades, commanded by the Brigadiers Townshend and Murray,

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Murray, were drawn out, in order to pass the ford when it should be necessary. To facilitate their passage, the Admiral had stationed the Centurion ship of war in the channel, to check the fire of the lower battery, by which the ford was commanded: a numerous train of artillery was placed upon the eminence, to batter and enfilade the left of the enemy's entrenchment; and two flat-bottomed armed vessels, prepared for the purpose, were run aground near the redoubt, to favour the descent of the forces. The manifest confusion produced among the French by these previous measures, and by the fire of the Centurion, which was well directed and sustained, determined Mr. Wolfe to storm this entrenchment without further delay. Orders were issued that the three Brigadiers should put their troops in motion at a certain signal, which was accordingly made at a proper time of the tide. Many of the boats from Point Levi ran aground upon a ledge that runs off a considerable distance from the shore; and this accident occasioned a disorder, by which so much time was lost, that the General was obliged to stop the march of Brigadier Townshend's corps, which he perceived to be in motion. In the mean time, the boats where floated, and ranged in proper order, though exposed to a severe fire of shot and shells; and the General in person sounding the shore, pointed out the place where the troops might disembark with the least difficulty. Thirteen companies of grenadiers, and two hundred men of the second American battalion, were the first who landed. They had received orders to form in four distinct bodies, and begin the attack, supported

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supported by the corps of Brigadier Monckton, as soon as the other troops should have passed the ford, and be near enough to contribute to their assistance. These instructions, however, were entirely neglected. Before Mr. Monckton had landed, and while Brigadier Townshend was on his march at a considerable distance, the grenadiers, without waiting to be drawn up in a regular form, impetuously rushed towards the enemy's entrenchments in the utmost disorder. Their courage served only to increase their misfortune. The first fire they received did such execution among them, that they were obliged to shelter themselves under the redoubt which the French had abandoned at their approach. In this uncomfortable situation they remained some time, unable to form under so hot a fire, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of many gallant officers, who lavishly exposed, and even lost their lives, in the honourable discharge of their duty*. The General, seeing all their endeavours abortive,

* The following ancedote is so remarkable, and tends so much to the honour of the British soldiery, that we insert it without fear of the reader's disapprobation:——Captain Ochterlony and Ensign Peyton belonged to the regiment of Brigadier-General Monckton. They were nearly of an age, which did not exceed thirty; the first was a North Briton, the other a native of Ireland. Both were agreeable in person, and unblemished in character, and connected together by the ties of mutual friendship and esteem. On the day that preceded the battle, Captain Ochterlony had been obliged to fight a duel with a German officer, in which though he wounded and disarmed his antagonist, yet he himself received a dangerous hurt under the right arm, in consequence of which his friends insisted on his remaining in camp during the action of the next day, but his spirit was too great to comply with this remonstrance. He declared it should never be said that a scratch, received in a private rencounter, had prevented him from doing his duty, when his country required his service; and he took the field with a fusil in his hand, though he was hardly able to carry his arms. In leading up his

abortive, ordered them to retreat, and form be- CHAP. XI.
hind Monckton's brigade, which was by this time 1759.

his men to the enemy's entrenchment, he was shot through the lungs with a musket ball; an accident which obliged him to part with his fusil: but he still continued advancing; until, by loss of blood, he became too weak to proceed farther. About the same time Mr. Peyton was lamed by a shot, which shattered the small bone of his left leg. The soldiers, in their retreat, earnestly begged, with tears in their eyes, that Captain Ochterlony would allow them to carry him and the ensign off the field. But he was so bigotted to a severe point of honour, that he would not quit the ground, though he desired they would take care of his ensign. Mr. Peyton, with a generous disdain, rejected their good offices, declaring that he would not leave his captain in such a situation: and in a little time they remained the sole survivors on that part of the field.

Captain Ochterlony sat down by his friend; and, as they expected nothing but immediate death, they took leave of each other. Yet they were not altogether abandoned by the hope of being protected as prisoners: for the Captain, seeing a French soldier with two Indians approach, started up, and accosting them in the French language, which he spoke perfectly well, expressed his expectation that they would treat him and his companion as officers, prisoners, and gentlemen. The two Indians seemed to be entirely under the conduct of the Frenchman, who coming up to Mr. Peyton, as he sat on the ground, snatched his laced hat from his head, and robbed the Captain of his watch and money. This outrage was a signal to the Indians for murder and pillage. One of them, clubbing his firelock, struck at him behind, with a view to knock him down; but the blow missing his head, took place upon his shoulders. At the same instant the other Indian poured his shot into the breast of this unfortunate young gentleman; who cried out, "Oh, Peyton, the villain has shot me." Not yet satiated with cruelty, the barbarian sprung upon him, and stabbed him in the belly with his scalping-knife. The Captain having parted with his fusil, had no weapon for his defence, as none of the officers wore swords in the action. The three ruffians, finding him still alive, endeavoured to strangle him with his own sash; and he was now upon his knees, struggling against them with surprising exertion. Mr. Peyton, at this juncture, having a double-barrelled musket in his hand, and seeing the distress of his friend, fired at one of the Indians, who dropped dead upon the spot. The other thinking the ensign would now be an easy prey, advanced towards him; and Mr. Peyton, having taken good aim at the distance of four yards, discharged his piece the second time, but it seemed to take no effect. The savage fired in his

turn,

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time landed, and drawn up on the beach in order. They accordingly retired in confusion, leaving a considerable

turn, and wounded the ensign in the shoulder; then, rushing upon him, thrust his bayonet though his body. He repeated the blow, which Mr. Peyton attempting to parry, received another wound in his left hand: nevetheless he seized the Indian's musket with the same hand, pulled him forwards, and with his right drawing a dagger which hung by his side, plunged it in the barbarian's side. A violent struggle ensued, but at length Mr. Peyton was uppermost; and, with repeated strokes of his dagger, killed his antagonist outright. Here he was seized with an unaccountable emotion of curiosity, to know whether or not his shot had taken place on the body of the Indian: he accordingly turned him up; and, stripping off his blanket, perceived that the ball had penetrated quite through the cavity of the breast. Having thus obtained a dear-bought victory, he started up on one leg; and saw Captain Ochterlony standing at the distance of sixty yards, close by the enemy's breastwork, with the French soldier attending him. Mr. Peyton then called aloud—"Captain Ochterlony, I am glad to see you "have at last got under protection. Beware of that villain, who is "more barbarous than the savages. God bless you, my dear Captain! "I see a party of Indians coming this way, and expect to be murdered "immediately." A number of those barbarians had for some time been employed on the left, in scalping and pillaging the dying and the dead that were left upon the field of battle; and above thirty of them were in full march to destroy Mr. Peyton. This gentleman knew he had no mercy to expect: for, should his life be spared for the present, they would have afterwards insisted upon sacrificing him to the manes of their brethren whom he had slain; and in that case he would have been put to death by the most excruciating tortures. Full of this idea, he snatched up his musket; and, notwithstanding his broken leg, ran about forty yards without halting: feeling himself now totally disabled, and incapable of proceeding one step farther, he loaded his piece, and presented it to the two foremost Indians, who stood aloof, wating to be joined by their fellows; while the French, from their breast-works, kept up a continual fire of cannon and small arms upon this poor, solitary, maimed gentleman. In this uncomfortable situation he stood, when he discerned at a distance a Highland officer, with a party of his men, skirting the plain towards the field of battle. He forthwith waved his hand in signal of distress, and being perceived by the officer, he detached three of his men to his assistance. These brave fellows hastened to him through the midst of a terrible fire, and one of them bore him off on his shoulders. The Highland officer was Captain Macdonald

considerable number lying on the field, to the barbarity of the Indian savages, who massacred the living, and scalped the dead, even in the sight of their indignant companions. This unhappy accident occasioned a new delay, and the day was already far advanced. The wind began to blow with uncommon violence, and the tide to make; so that in case of a second repulse, the retreat of Brigadier Townshend might have been rendered hazardous and uncertain; Mr. Wolfe, therefore, thought proper to desist, and returned without further molestation to the other side of the river Montmorenci. The Admiral ordered the two vessels which were aground to be set on fire, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. The advantages that favoured an attack in this part, consisted of the following particulars:—All the artillery could be used with good effect; all the troops could act at once; and, in case of a miscarriage, the retreat was

Macdonald of Colonel Frazier's battalion; who understanding that a young gentleman, his kinsman, had dropped on the field of battle, had put himself at the head of this party, with which he penetrated to the middle of the field, drove a considerable number of the French and Indians before him, and finding his relation still unscalped, carried him off in triumph. Poor Captain Ochterlony was conveyed to Quebec, where in a few days he died of his wounds. After the reduction of that place, the French surgeons who attended him declared, that in all probability he would have recovered of the two shots he had received in his breast, had not he been mortally wounded in the belly by the Indian's scalping knife.

As this very remarkable scene was acted in sight of both armies, General Townshend, in the sequel, expostulated with the French officers upon the inhumanity of keeping up such a severe fire against two wounded gentlemen who were disabled, and destitute of all hope of escaping. They answered, that the fire was not made by the regulars, but by the Canadians and savages, whom it was not in the power of discipline to restrain.

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secure and open, at least for a certain time of the tide. These, however, seemed to be overbalanced by other considerations. The enemy were posted on a commanding eminence; the beach was covered with deep mud, slippery, and broken into holes and gullies; the hill was steep, and in some places impracticable; the enemy were numerous, and poured in a very severe fire from their entrenchments. Had the attack succeeded, the loss of the English must have been very heavy, and that of the French inconsiderable, because the neighbouring woods afforded them immediate shelter. Finally, the river St. Charles still remained to be passed, before the town could be invested.

§ XXIII. Immediately after this mortifying check, in which above five hundred men, and many brave officers, were lost, the General detached Brigadier Murray, with twelve hundred men, in transports, above the town, to co-operate with Rear-Admiral Holmes, whom the Admiral had sent up with some force against the French shipping, which he hoped to destroy. The Brigadier was likewise instructed to seize every opportunity of fighting the enemy's detachments, and even of provoking them to battle. In pursuance of these directions, he twice attempted to land on the north shore; but these attempts were unsuccessful. The third effort was more fortunate. He made a sudden descent at Chambaud, and burned a considerable magazine, filled with arms, clothing, provision, and ammunition. The enemy's ships being secured in such a manner as not to be approached, and nothing else occurring that required the Brigadier's longer stay, he returned to the camp, with intelligence obtained from his prisoners, that the

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fort of Niagara was taken, Crown Point abandoned, and General Amherst employed in making preparations to attack the corps at the Isle aux Nois, commanded by M. Burlemaque. The disaster at the Falls of Montmorenci made a deep impression on the mind of General Wolfe, whose spirit was too great to brook the most distant prospect of censure or disgrace. He knew the character of the English people—rash, impatient, and capricious; elevated to exultation by the least gleam of success, dejected even to despondency by the most inconsiderable frown of adverse fortune; sanguine, even to childish hyperbole, in applauding those servants of the public who have prospered in their undertakings; clamorous, to a degree of persecution, against those who have miscarried in their endeavours, without any investigation of merit, without any consideration of circumstances. A keen sense of these vexatious peculiarities conspiring with the shame of disappointment, and eager desire of retrieving the laurel that he might by some be supposed to have lost at the Falls of Montmorenci, and the despair of finding such an occasion, excited an internal agitation, which visibly affected his external frame, and disordered his whole constitution, which was naturally delicate and tender. Among those who shared his confidence, he was often seen to sigh; he was often heard to complain; and even in the transports of his chagrin declare, that he would never return without success, to be exposed, as other unfortunate Commanders had been, to the censure and reproach of an ignorant and ungrateful populace. This tumult of the mind, added to the fatigues of

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the body he had undergone, produced a fever and dysentery, by which for some time he was totally disabled.

§ XXIV. Before he recovered any degree of strength, he desired the General Officers to consult together for the public utility. It was their opinion that, the Points of Levi and Orleans being left in a proper state of defence, the rest of the troops should be conveyed up the river; with a view to draw the enemy from their present situation, and bring them if possible to an engagement. This measure, however, was not adopted, until the General and Admiral had reconnoitred the town of Quebec, with a view to a general assault; and concluded from their own observations, reinforced by the opinion of the chief engineer, who was perfectly well acquainted with the interiors of the place, that such an attack could not be hazarded with any prospect of success. The ships of war, indeed, might have silenced the batteries of the lower town, but they could not affect the upper works, from which they must have sustained considerable damage. When we consider the situation of this place, and the fortifications with which it was secured; the natural strength of the country; the great number of vessels and floating batteries they had provided for the defence of the river; the skill, valour, superior force, and uncommon vigilance of the enemy; their numerous bodies of savages continually hovering about the posts of the English, to surprise parties, and harass detachments; we must own that there was such a combination of difficulties as might have discouraged and perplexed

perplexed the most resolute and intelligent Commander. CHAP. XI.

§ XXV. In consequence of the resolution taken to quit the camp at Montmorenci, the troops and artillery were re-embarked, and landed at Point Levi: they afterwards passed up the river in transports; while Admiral Holmes made a movement with his ships, to amuse the enemy posted on the north shore: and the men being much crowded on board, the General ordered one half of them to be landed for refreshment on the other side of the river. As no possibility appeared of annoying the enemy above the town, the scheme of operations was totally changed. A plan was formed for conveying the troops farther down in boats, and landing them in the night within a league of Cape Diamond, in hopes of ascending the Heights of Abraham; which rise abruptly with a steep ascent from the banks of the river, that they might take possession of the ground on the back of the city, where it was but indifferently fortified. The dangers and difficulties attending the execution of this design were so peculiarly discouraging, that one would imagine it could not have been embraced but by a spirit of enterprize that bordered on desperation. The stream was rapid; the shore shelving; the bank of the river lined with sentinels; the landing-place so narrow as to be easily missed in the dark; and the ground so difficult as hardly to be surmounted in the day-time, had no opposition been expected. If the enemy had received the least intimation from spy or deserter, or even suspected the scheme; had the embarkation been disordered in consequence of the darkness of the night, 1759.

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night, the rapidity of the river, or the shelving nature of the north shore, near which they were obliged to row; had one sentinel been alarmed, or the landing-place much mistaken; the heights of Abraham must have been instantly secured by such a force as would have rendered the undertaking abortive; confusion would necessarily have ensued in the dark; and this would have naturally produced a panic, which might have proved fatal to the greater part of the detachment. These objections could not escape the penetration of the gallant Wolfe, who nevertheless adopted the plan without hesitation, and even executed it in person; though at that time labouring under a severe dysentery and fever, which had exhausted his constitution, and reduced him almost to an extremity of weakness. The previous steps being taken, and the time fixed for this hazardous attempt, Admiral Holmes moved with his squadron farther up the river, about three leagues above the place appointed for the disembarkation, that he might deceive the enemy, and amuse M. de Bougainville, whom Montcalm had detached with fifteen hundred men to watch the motions of that squadron: but the English Admiral was directed to sail down the river in the night, so as to protect the landing of the forces; and these orders he punctually fulfilled. On the twelfth day of September, an hour after midnight, the first embarkation, consisting of four complete regiments, the light infantry commanded by Colonel Howe, a detachment of Highlanders, and the American grenadiers, was made in flat-bottomed boats, under the immediate command of the Brigadiers Monckton and Murray;

though General Wolfe accompanied them in person, and was among the first who landed; and they began to fall down with the tide, to the intended place of disembarkation; rowing close to the North shore, in order to find it the more easily. Without any disorder the boats glided gently along; but by the rapidity of the tide, and the darkness of the night, the boats overshot the mark, and the troops landed a little below the place at which the disembarkation was intended*. As the troops landed, the boats

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* How far the success of this attempt depended upon accident, may be conceived from the following particulars:—In the twilight two French deserters were carried on board a ship of war, commanded by Captain Smith, and lying at anchor near the north shore. They told him that the garrison of Quebeck expected that night to receive a convoy of provisions, sent down the river in boats from the detachment above commanded by M. de Bougainville. These deserters standing upon deck, and perceiving the English boats with the troops gliding down the river in the dark, began to shout and make a noise, declaring they were part of the expected convoy. Captain Smith, who was ignorant of General Wolfe's design, believing their affirmation, had actually given orders to point the guns at the British troops, when the General perceiving a commotion on board, rowed along-side in person, and prevented the discharge, which would have alarmed the town, and entirely frustrated the attempt.

The French had posted sentries along shore, to challenge boats and vessels, and give the alarm occasionally. The first boat that contained the English troops being questioned accordingly, a Captain of Fraser's regiment, who had served in Holland, and who was perfectly well acquainted with the French language and customs, answered without hesitation to *Qui vit*, which is their challenging word, *La France*: nor was he at a loss to answer the second question, which was much more particular and difficult. When the sentinel demanded *a quel regiment?* to what regiment? the Captain replied, *de la Reine*; which he knew, by accident, to be one of those that composed the body commanded by Bougainville. The soldier took it for granted this was the expected convoy; and saying, *passe*, allowed all the boats to proceed without further question. In the same manner the other sentries were deceived; though one, more wary than the rest, came running down

BOOK III. boats were sent back for the second embarkation, which was superintended by Brigadier Townshend.

1759. In the mean time, Colonel Howe, with the light infantry and the Highlanders, ascended the woody precipices with admirable courage and activity; and dislodged a serjeant's guard, which defended a small entrenched narrow path, by which alone the rest of the forces could reach the summit. Then they mounted without further molestation from the enemy, and the General drew them up in order as they arrived. Monsieur de Montcalm no sooner understood that the English had gained the Heights of Abraham, which in a manner commanded the town on its weakest part, than he resolved to hazard a battle; and began his march without delay, after having collected his whole force from the side of Beauport.

to the water's edge, and called, "*Pourquoi est ce que vous ne parlez plus haut?* Why don't you speak with an audible voice?" To this interrogation, which implied doubt, the Captain answered, with admirable presence of mind, in a soft tone of voice, "*Tai toi! nous serons entendues!* Hush! we shall be overheard and discovered!" Thus cautioned, the sentry retired without further altercation. The Midshipman who piloted the first boat, passing by the landing place in the dark, the same Captain, who knew it from his having been posted formerly with his company on the other side of the river, insisted upon the pilot's being mistaken; and commanded the rowers to put ashore in the proper place, or at least very near it.

When General Wolfe landed, and saw the difficulty of ascending the precipice, he said to the same officer, in a familiar strain, "I don't believe there is any possibility of getting up; but you must do your endeavour." The narrow path that slanted up the hill from the landing place the enemy had broken up, and rendered impassable by cross ditches, besides the entrenchment at the top: in every other part the hill was so steep and dangerous, that the soldiers were obliged to pull themselves up by the roots and boughs of trees growing on both sides of the path.

§. XXVI.

§ XXVI. General Wolfe, perceiving the enemy crossing the river St. Charles, began to form his own line, which consisted of six battalions, and the Louisbourg grenadiers; the right commanded by Brigadier Monckton, and the left by Brigadier Murray: to the rear of the left, Colonel Howe was posted with his light infantry, just returned from a four-gun battery, which they had taken without opposition. M. de Montcalm advancing in such a manner as to shew his intention was to flank the left of the English, Brigadier Townshend was sent thither with the regiment of Amherst, which he formed *en potence*, presenting a double front to the enemy: he was afterwards reinforced by two battalions; and the reserve consisted of one regiment drawn up in eight subdivisions, with large intervals. The right of the enemy was composed of half the colony troops, two battalions, and a body of Canadians and savages: their centre consisted of a column formed by two other regular battalions; and on the left one battalion, with the remainder of the colony troops, was posted: the bushes and cornfields in their front were lined with fifteen hundred of their best marksmen, who kept up an irregular galling fire, which proved fatal to many brave officers, thus singled out for destruction. This fire, indeed, was in some measure checked by the advanced posts of the British line, who piquecred with the enemy for some hours before the battle began. Both armies were destitute of artillery, except two small pieces on the side of the French, and a single gun which the English seamen made shift to draw up from the landing place. This was very well served, and galled

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their column severely. At length, about nine in the morning, the enemy advanced to the charge with great order and vivacity, though their fire was irregular and ineffectual. On the contrary, the British forces reserved their shot until the French had approached within forty yards of their line; then they poured in a terrible discharge; and continued the fire with such deliberation and spirit, as could not fail to produce a very considerable effect. General Wolfe was stationed on the right, at the head of Bragg's regiment and the Louisbourg grenadiers, where the attack was most warm. As he stood conspicuous in the front of the line, he had been aimed at by the enemy's marksmen, and received a shot in the wrist, which however did not oblige him to quit the field. Having wrapped a handkerchief round his hand, he continued giving orders without the least emotion; and advanced at the head of the grenadiers, with their bayonets fixed; when another ball unfortunately pierced the breast of this young hero*, who fell in the arms of victory, just as the enemy gave way. At this very instant, every separate regiment of the British army seemed to exert itself for the honour of its own peculiar character. While the right pressed on with their bayonets, Brigadier Murray briskly advanced with the troops under his command, and soon broke the centre

* When the fatal ball took place, General Wolfe, finding himself unable to stand, leaned upon the shoulder of a Lieutenant, who sat down for that purpose. This officer seeing the French give way, exclaimed, "They run! they run!"—"Who run?" cried the gallant Wolfe, with great eagerness. When the Lieutenant replied, "The French,"—"What! (said he) do the cowards run already? then I die happy." So saying, the glorious youth expired.

of

of the enemy; then the Highlanders, drawing their broad swords, fell in among them with irresistible impetuosity, and drove them with great slaughter into the town, and the works they had raised at the bridge of the river St. Charles. On the left and rear of the English, the action was not so violent. Some of the light infantry had thrown themselves into houses; where, being attacked, they defended themselves with great courage and resolution. Colonel Howe having taken post with two companies behind a small copse, sallied out frequently on the flanks of the enemy, during this attack, and often drove them into heaps; while Brigadier Townshend advanced platoons against their front; so that the right wing of the French were totally prevented from executing their first intention. The Brigadier himself remained with Amherst's regiment, to support this disposition, and to overawe a body of savages posted opposite to the light infantry, waiting for an opportunity to fall upon the rear of the British army. General Wolfe being slain, and at the same time Mr. Monckton dangerously wounded at the head of Lascelles' regiment, where he distinguished himself with remarkable gallantry, the command devolved on Brigadier Townshend, who hastened to the centre; and finding the troops disordered in the pursuit, formed them again with all possible expedition. This necessary task was scarcely performed, when M. de Bougainville, with a body of two thousand fresh men, appeared in the rear of the English. He had begun his march from Cape Rouge, as soon as he received intelligence that the British troops had gained the Heights of Abraham, but did

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did not come up in time to have any share in the battle. Mr. Townshend immediately ordered two battalions, with two pieces of artillery, to advance against this officer; who retired, at their approach, among woods and swamps, where General Townshend very wisely declined hazarding a precarious attack. He had already obtained a complete victory, taken a great number of French officers, and was possessed of a very advantageous situation, which it would have been imprudent to forego. The French General, M. de Montcalm, was mortally wounded in the battle, and conveyed into Quebeck; from whence, before he died, he wrote a letter to General Townshend, recommending the prisoners to that generous humanity by which the British nation is distinguished. His second in command was left wounded on the field; and next day expired on board an English ship, to which he had been conveyed. About one thousand of the enemy were made prisoners, including a great number of officers; and about five hundred were slain on the field of battle. The wreck of their army, after they had reinforced the garrison of Quebeck, retired to Point-au-Tremble; from whence they proceeded to Jacques Quatiers, where they remained entrenched until they were compelled by the severity of the weather to make the best of their way to Trois Rivieres and Montreal. This important victory was obtained at the expence of fifty men killed, including nine officers; and of about five hundred men wounded; but the death of General Wolfe was a national loss, universally lamented. He inherited from nature an animating fervour of sentiment, an intuitive perception,

perception, an extensive capacity, and a passion for glory, which stimulated him to acquire every species of military knowledge that study could comprehend, that actual service could illustrate and confirm. This noble warmth of disposition seldom fails to call forth and unfold the liberal virtues of the soul. Brave above all estimation of danger, he was also generous, gentle, complacent, and humane; the pattern of the officer, the darling of the soldier: there was a sublimity in his genius which soared above the pitch of ordinary minds; and had his faculties been exercised to their full extent by opportunity and action, had his judgment been fully matured by age and experience, he would without doubt have rivalled in reputation the most celebrated captains of antiquity. CHAP. XI. 1759.

§ XXVII. Immediately after the battle of Quebeck, Admiral Saunders, who, together with his subordinates Durell and Holmes, had all along co-operated heartily with the land forces for the advantage of the service, sent up all the boats of the fleet with artillery and ammunition; and on the seventeenth day of the month sailed up, with all the ships of war, in a disposition to attack the lower town, while the upper part should be assaulted by General Townshend. This gentleman had employed the time from the day of action in securing the camp with redoubts, in forming a military road for the cannon, in drawing up the artillery, preparing batteries, and cutting off the enemy's communication with the country. On the seventeenth, before any battery could be finished, a flag of truce was sent from the town, with proposals of capitulation; which, being maturely considered

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considered by the General and Admiral, were accepted, and signed at eight next morning. They granted the more favourable terms, as the enemy continued to assemble in the rear of the British army; as the season was become wet, stormy, and cold, threatening the troops with sickness, and the fleet with accident, and as a considerable advantage would result from taking possession of the town while the walls were in a state of defence. What rendered the capitulation still more fortunate for the British General was, the information he afterwards received from deserters, that the enemy had rallied, and were reinforced behind Cape Rouge, under the command of M. de Levy, arrived from Montreal for that purpose, with two regular battalions; and that M. de Bougainville, at the head of eight hundered men, with a convoy of provisions, was actually on his march to throw himself into the town on the eighteenth, that very morning on which it was surrendered. The place was not then completely invested, as the enemy had broke the bridge of boats, and posted detachments in very strong works on the other side of the river St. Charles. The capitulation was no sooner ratified, than the British forces took possession of Quebeck on the land side; and guards were posted in different parts of the town, to preserve order and discipline: at the same time Captain Palliser, with a body of seamen, entered the lower town, and took the same precautions. Next day about a thousand prisoners were embarked on board transports, which proceeded to France with the first opportunity. Mean while the inhabitants of the country came in great numbers, to deliver

deliver up their arms, and take the oath of fidelity to the English government. The death of Montcalm, which was indeed an irreparable loss to France, in all probability overwhelmed the enemy with consternation, and confounded all their councils; otherwise we cannot account for the tame surrender of Quebeck to a handful of troops, even after the victory they had obtained: for although the place was not regularly fortified on the land side, and most of the houses were in ruins, their walls and parapets had not yet sustained the least damage; the besiegers were hardly sufficient to complete the investiture; a fresh army was assembled in the neighbourhood, with which their communication continued open; the season was so far advanced, that the British forces in a little time must have been forced to desist by the severity of the weather, and even retire with their fleet before the approach of winter, which never fails to freeze up the river St. Laurence. CHAP. XI. 1759.

§ XXVIII. Immediately after the action at the Falls of Montmorenci, General Wolfe had dispatched an officer to England, with a detail of that disaster, written with such elegance and accuracy, as would not have disgraced the pen of a Cæsar, Though the publick acquiesced in his conduct, they were exceedingly mortified at his miscarriage; and this mortification was the greater, as he seemed to despair of being able to strike any other stroke of importance for the accomplishment of their hope, which had aspired at the absolute conquest of Canada. The first transports of their chagrin were not yet subsided, when Colonel Hale arrived in the ship Alcide, with an account of the

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victory and surrender of Quebeck; which was immediately communicated to the people in an extraordinary Gazette. The joy which this excited among the populace, rose in proportion to the despondence which the former had produced: all was rapture and riot; all was triumph and exultation, mingled with the praise of the all-accomplished Wolfe, which they exalted even to a ridiculous degree of hyperbole. The king expressed his satisfaction by conferring the honour of knighthood upon Captain Douglas, whose ship brought the first tidings of this success; and gratified him and Colonel Hale with considerable presents. A day of solemn thanksgiving was appointed by proclamation through all the dominions of Great-Britain. The city of London, the universities, and many other corporations of the kingdom, presented congratulatory addresses to his Majesty. The Parliament was no sooner assembled than the Secretary of State, in the House of Commons, expatiated upon the successes of the campaign, the transcendent merit of the deceased General, the conduct and courage of the Admirals and officers who assisted in the conquest of Quebeck. In consequence of this harangue, and the motion by which it was succeeded, the House unanimously resolved to present an address, desiring his Majesty would order a monument to be erected in Westminster Abbey to the memory of Major-General Wolfe: at the same time they passed another resolution, that the thanks of the House should be given to the surviving Generals and Admirals employed in the glorious and successful expedition to Quebeck. Testimonies of this kind, while

while they reflect honour upon the character of the nation, never fail to animate individuals to a spirited exertion of their talents in the service of the publick. The people of England were so elevated by the astonishing success of this campaign, which was also prosperous on the continent of Europe, that, far from expressing the least sense of the enormous burthens which they bore, they, with a spirit peculiar to the British nation, voluntarily raised large contributions, to purchase warm jackets, stockings, shoes, coats, and blankets, for the soldiers, who were exposed to the rigours of an inclement sky in Germany and America. But they displayed a more noble proof of unrestrained benevolence, extended even to foes. The French ministry, straitened in their finances, which were found scarcely sufficient to maintain the war, had sacrificed their duty to their King, and every sentiment of compassion for his unhappy subjects, to a thirst of vengeance, and sanguinary views of ambition. They had withdrawn the usual allowance from their subjects who were detained prisoners in England; and those wretched creatures, amounting in number to near twenty thousand, were left to the mercy of those enemies whom their Sovereign had taken such pains to exasperate. The allowance with which they were indulged by the British government effectually secured them from the horrors of famine; but still they remained destitute of other conveniences, and particularly exposed to the miseries of cold and nakedness. The generous English beheld these forlorn captives with sentiments of sympathy and compassion: they considered them as their fellow creatures and brethren in humanity,

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manity, and forgot their country while they beheld their distress. A considerable subscription was raised in their behalf; and in a few weeks they were completely clothed by the charity of their British benefactors. This beneficent exertion was certainly one of the noblest triumphs of the human mind, which even the most inveterate enemies of Great-Britain cannot but regard with reverence and admiration.—The city of Quebeck being reduced, together with great part of the circumjacent country, Brigadier Townshend, who had accepted his commission with the express proviso that he should return to England at the end of the campaign, left a garrison of five thousand effective men, victualled from the fleet, under the command of Brigadier Murray; and, embarking with Admiral Saunders, arrived in Great-Britain about the beginning of winter. As for Brigadier Monckton, he was conveyed to New-York, where he happily recovered of his wound.

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§ I. *Siege of Madras.* § II. *Col. Forde defeats the Marquis de Conflans near Colapool. Capt. Knox takes Rajamundry and Narsipore.* § III. *Col. Forde takes Masulipatam.* § IV. *Surat taken by the English.* § V. *Unsuccessful attack upon Wandewash.* § VI. *Adm. Pococke defeats Mons. d'Apché.* § VII. *Hostilities of the Dutch on the river of Bengal.* § VIII. *Col. Coote takes Wandewash.* § IX. *Defeats General Lally.* § X. *And conquers the province of Arcot.* § XI. *State of the belligerent powers in Europe.* § XII. *Franckfort seized by the French.* § XIII. *Progress of the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick.* § XIV. *Prince Ferdinand attacks the French at Bergen.* § XV. *The British ministry appoint an inspector-general of the forage.* § XVI. *Prince Ferdinand retreats before the French army.* § XVII. *Animosity between the General of the allied army and the commander of the British forces.* § XVIII. *The French encamp at Minden.* § XIX. *And are defeated by the Allies.* § XX. *Duke de Brissac routed by the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick.* § XXI. *Gen. Imhoff takes Munster from the French.* § XXII. *Who retreat before Prince Ferdinand.* § XXIII. *The Hereditary Prince beats up the Duke of Wirtemberg's quarters at Fulda.* § XXIV. *A body of Prussians make an incursion into Poland.* § XXV. *Prince Henry penetrates into Bohemia.* § XXVI. *He enters Franconia, and obliges the Imperial army to retire.* § XXVII. *King of Prussia vindicates his conduct with respect to his prisoners.* § XXVIII.

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The Prussian General Wedel defeated by the Russians at Zullichau. § XXIX. *The King of Prussia takes the command of Gen. Wedel's corps.* § XXX. *Battle of Cunersdorf.* § XXXI. *Advantages gained by the Prussians in Saxony.* § XXXII. *Prince Henry surprises Gen. Vehla.—Gen. Finck, with his whole corps of Prussians, surrounded and taken by the Austrian General.* § XXXIII. *Disaster of the Prussian General Diercke.* § XXXIV. *Conclusion of the campaign.* § XXXV. *Arret of the Evangelical body at Ratisbon.* § XXXVI. *The French ministry stop payment.* § XXXVII. *The States-General send over deputies to England.* § XXXVIII. *Memorial presented to the States by Major Gen. Yorke.* § XXXIX. *A counter memorial presented by the French minister.* § XL. *Death of the King of Spain.* § XLI. *He is succeeded by his brother Don Carlos, who makes a remarkable settlement.* § XLII. *Detection and punishment of the conspirators at Lisbon.* § XLIII. *Session opened in England.* § XLIV. *Substance of the addresses.* § XLV. *Supplies granted.* § XLVI. *Ways and means, annuities, &c.* § XLVII. *Bills for granting several duties on malt, &c.* § XLVIII. *Petitions for and against the prohibition of the malt distillery.* § XLIX. *Opposition to the bill for preventing the excessive use of spirituous liquors.* § L. *Bill for continuing the importation of Irish beef.* § LI. *Attempt to establish a militia in Scotland.* § LII. *Further regulations relative to the militia of England.* § LIII. *Bill for removing the powder magazine from Greenwich.* § LIV. *Act for improving the streets of London.* § LV. *Bill relative to the sale of fish in London and Westminster.*

minster. § LVI. *New act for ascertaining the qualifications of members of Parliament.* § LVII. *Act for consolidating the annuities granted in* 1759. § LVIII. *Bill for securing the payment of prize and bounty money appropriated for the use of Greenwich Hospital.* § LIX. *Act in favour of George Keith, late Earl Mareschal of Scotland.* § LX. *Session closed.*

§ I. WHILE the arms of Great-Britain triumphed in Europe and America, her interest was not suffered to languish in other parts of the world. This was the season of ambition and activity, in which every separate armament, every distinct corps, and every individual officer, seemed to exert themselves with the most eager appetite of glory. The East Indies, which in the course of the preceding year had been the theatre of operations carried on with various success, exhibited nothing now but a succession of trophies to the English commanders. The Indian transactions of the last year we interrupted at that period when the French General, Lally, was employed in making preparations for the siege of Madras. In the month of October he had marched into Arcot without opposition; and, in the beginning of December, he advanced towards Madras. On the twelfth he marched over Choultry plain, in three divisions, cannonaded by the English artillery with considerable effect, and took post at Egmore and St. Thome. Colonel Laurence, who commanded the garrison of Madras, retired to the island, in order to prevent the enemy from taking possession of the island bridge; and at the same time ordered

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ordered the posts to be occupied in the Black-town, or suburbs of Madras. In the morning of the fourteenth, the enemy marched with their whole force to attack this place; the English detachments retreated into the garrison; and within the hour a grand sally was made, under the command of Colonel Draper, a gallant officer, who signalized himself remarkably on this occasion. He attacked the regiment of Lorrain with great impetuosity; and in all probability would have beat them off, had they not been sustained by the arrival of a fresh brigade. After a very warm dispute, in which many officers and a great number of men were killed on each side, Colonel Draper was obliged to retreat, not altogether satisfied with the conduct of his grenadiers. As the garrison of Madras was not very numerous, nothing farther was attempted on their side without the works. In the mean time, the enemy used all their diligence in erecting batteries against the fort and town; which being opened on the sixth day of January, they maintained a continual discharge of shot and shells for twenty days, advancing their trenches all the time under cover of this fire, until they reached the breast of the glacis. There they erected a battery of four pieces of cannon, and opened it on the last day of the month; but for five days successively they were obliged to close their embrasures by the superior fire of the fort, and at length to abandon it entirely: nevertheless, they still maintained a severe fire from the first grand battery, which was placed at the distance of four hundred and fifty yards from the defences. This artillery was so well served, as to disable twenty-six pieces of cannon, three mortars,

tars, and effect an inconsiderable breach. Perhaps they might have had more success, had they battered in breach from the beginning; but M. Lally, in order to intimidate the inhabitants, had cruelly bombarded the town, and demolished the houses: he was, however, happily disappointed in his expectation by the wise and resolute precautions of Governor Pigot; by the vigilance, conduct, and bravery of the Colonels Laurence and Draper, seconded by the valour and activity of Major Brereton, and the spirit of the inferior officers. The artillery of the garrison was so well managed, that from the fifth day of February, the fire of the enemy gradually decreased from twenty-three to six pieces of cannon: nevertheless, they advanced their sap along the sea-side, so as to embrace entirely the north-east angle of the covered way, from whence their musquetry drove the besieged. They likewise endeavoured to open a passage into the ditch by a mine; but sprung it so injudiciously, that they could make no advantage of it, as it lay exposed to the fire of several cannon. While these preparations were carried on before the town, Major Caillaud and Captain Preston, with a body of Sepoys, some of the country horse, and a few Europeans drawn from the English garrisons of Trichenapally and Chingalaput, hovered at the distance of a few miles, blocking up the roads in such a manner that the enemy were obliged, four several times, to send large detachments against them, in order to open the communication: thus the progress of the siege was in a great measure retarded. On the sixteenth day of February, in the evening, the Queenborough ship of war, com-

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manded by Captain Kempenfeldt, and the Company's ship the Revenge, arrived in the road of Madras, with a reinforcement of six-hundred men belonging to Colonel Draper's regiment, and part of them was immediately disembarked. From the beginning of the siege the enemy had discovered a backwardness in the service, very unsuitable to their national character. They were ill supplied by their commissaries and contractors: they were discouraged by the obstinate defence of the garrison, and all their hope of success vanished at the arrival of this reinforcement. After a brisk fire, they raised the siege that very night, abandoning forty pieces of cannon; and, having destroyed the powder-mills at Ogmore, retreated to the territory of Arcot*.

§ II.

* The chagrin and mortification of Lally are strongly marked in the following intercepted letter to M. de Legret, dated from the camp before Madras:

"A good blow might be struck here: there is a ship in the road, of twenty guns, laden with all the riches of Madras, which it is said will remain there till the 20th. The Expedition is just arrived, but M. Gerlin is not a man to attack her; for she has made him run away once before. The Bristol, on the other hand, did but just make her appearance before St. Thomas; and, on the vague report of thirteen ships coming from Porto Novo, she took fright; and after landing the provisions with which she was laden, she would not stay long enough even to take on board twelve of her own guns, which she had lent us for the siege.

"If I was the judge of the point of honour of the Company's officers, I would break him like glass, as well as some others of them.

"The Fidelle, or the Harlem; or even the aforesaid Bristol, with her twelve guns restored to her, would be sufficient to make themselves masters of the English ship, if they could manage so as to get to windward of her in the night. Maugendre and Tremillier are said to be good men; and, were they employed only to transport two hundred wounded men that we have here, their service would be of importance.

"We

§ II. M. Lally having weakened his forces that were at Masulipatam, under the conduct of the Marquis de Conflans, in order to strengthen the

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"We remain still in the same position: the breach made these fifteen days; all the time within fifteen toises of the wall of the place, and never holding up our heads to look at it.

"I reckon we shall, on our arriva at Pondicherry, endeavour to learn some other trade, for this of war requires too much patience.

"Of one thousand five hundred Sepoys which attended our army, I reckon near eight hundred are employed upon the road to Pondicherry, laden with sugar, pepper, and other goods; and as for the Coulis, they are all employed for the same purpose, from the first day we came here.

"I am taking my measure from this day to set fire to the Blacktown, and to blow up the powder mills.

"You will never imagine that fifty French deserters, and one hundred Swiss, are actually stopping the progress of two thousand men of the King's and Company's troops which are still here existing, notwithstanding the exaggerated accounts that every one makes here according to his own fancy, of the slaughter that has been made of them; and you will be still more surprised if I tell you that, were it not for the combats and four battles we sustained, and for the batteries which failed, or; to speak more properly, which were unskilfully made, we should not have lost fifty men, from the commencement of the siege of this day. I have written to M. de Larche, that if he persists in not coming here, let who will raise money upon the Poleagers for me, I will not do it; and I renounce (as I informed you a month ago I would do) meddling directly or indirectly with any thing whatever that may have relation to your administration, whether civil or military. For I had rather go and command the Caffrees of Madagascar than remain in this Sodom; which it is impossible but the fire of the English must destroy sooner or later; even though that from Heaven should not.

"I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

"Signed LALLY.

"P. S.—I think it necessary to apprize you, that as M. de Soupire has refused to take upon him the command of this army, which I have offered to him, and which he is empowered to accept, by having received from the court a duplicate of my commission, you must of necessity, together with the council, take it upon you. For my part, I undertake only to bring it back either to Arcotte or Sadraste. Send, therefore, your orders, or come yourselves to command it; for I shall quit it upon my arrival there."

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army with which he undertook the siege of Madras, the Rajah of Visanapore drove the French garrison from Vizagapatam, and hoisted English colours in the place. The Marquis having put his troops in motion to revenge this insult, the Rajah solicited succour from Colonel Clive at Calcutta; and, with the consent of the council, a body of troops was sent under the command of Colonel Forde to his assistance. They consisted of five hundred Europeans, including a company of artillery, and sixteen hundred Sepoys; with about fifteen pieces of cannon, one howitzer, and three mortars. The forces of Conflans were much more considerable. On the twentieth day of October Colonel Forde arrived at Vizagapatam, and made an agreement with the Rajah, who promised to pay the expence of the expedition, as soon as he should be put in possession of Rajamundry, a large town and fort possessed by the French. It was stipulated that he should have all the inland country belonging to the Indian powers in the French interest, and at present in arms; and that the English company should retain all the conquered sea-coast from Vizagapatam to Masulipatam. On the first of November Colonel Forde proceeded on his march; and on the third joined the Rajah's army, consisting of between three and four thousand men. On the third of December they came in sight of the enemy, near the village of Tallapool: but the French declining battle, the Colonel determined to draw them from their advantageous situation, or march round, and get between them and Rajamundry. On the seventh, before day-break, he began his march, leaving the Rajah's

Rajah's forces on their ground; but the enemy beginning to cannonade the Indian forces, he, at the request of the Rajah, returned; and took them under his protection. Then they marched together to the village of Golapool, and halted on a small plain about three miles from their encampment. About nine he formed the line of battle. About ten the enemy were drawn up, and began the cannonade. The firing on both sides having continued about forty minutes, the enemy's line advanced to the charge with great resolution; and were so warmly received, that, after several spirited efforts, at eleven they gave way, and retreated in disorder towards Rajamundry. During this conflict, the Rajah's forces stood as idle spectators, nor could their horse be prevailed upon to pursue the fugitives. The victory cost the English forty-four Europeans killed and wounded, including two Captains and three Lieutenants. The French lost above three times the number, together with their whole camp, baggage, thirty-two pieces of cannon, all their ammunition. A great number of black forces fell on both sides. The Marquis de Conflans did not remain at Rajamundry, but proceeded to Masulipatam; while Captain Knox, with a detachment from the English army, took possession of the fort of Rajamundry, which is the barrier and key to the country of Vizagapatam. This was delivered to the Rajah on his paying the expence of the expedition; and Captain Knox being detached with a battalion of Sepoys, took possession of the French factory at Narsipore. This was also the fate of a small fort at Coucate; which surrendered to Captain Maclean,

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lean, after having made an obstinate defence. In the mean time, however, the French army of observation made shift to retake Rajamundry, where they found a considerable quantity of money, baggage, and effects belonging to English officers.

§ III. Colonel Forde advancing to the neighbourhood of Masulipatam, the Marquis de Conflans with his forces retired within the place, which on the seventh day of March was invested. By the seventh day of April the ammunition of the besiegers being almost expended, Colonel Forde determined to give the assault, as two breaches were already made, and made his disposition accordingly. The attack was begun in the night, and the assailants arrived at the ditch before they were discovered. But here they underwent a terrible discharge of grape-shot and musquetry; notwithstanding which they entered the breaches, and drove the enemy from bastion to bastion. At length, the Marquis de Conflans sent an officer to demand quarter for the garrison, which was granted as soon as he ordered his men to cease firing. Thus, with about three hundred and forty European soldiers, a handful of seamen, and seven hundred Sepoys, Colonel Forde took by assault the strong town of Masulipatam, garrisoned by five hundred and twenty-two Europeans, two thousand and thirty-nine Caffrees, Topasses, and Sepoys; and here he found above one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, with a great quantity of ammunition. Salabatzing, the Subah of Decan, perceiving the success of the English here as well as at Madras, being sick of his French alliance, and

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in dread of his brother Nizam Allee, who had set up a separate interest, and taken the field against him, made advances to the Company, with which he forthwith concluded a treaty to the following effect:—"The whole of the circar of Masulipatam shall be given to the English Company. Salabatzing will not suffer the French of have a settlement in this country, nor keep them in his service, nor give them any assistance. The English, on their part will not assist nor give protection to the Subah's enemies."—In a few days after Masulipatam was reduced, two ships arrived in the road, with a reinforcement of four hundred men to the Marquis de Conflans; but, understanding the fate of the place, made the best of their way to Ganjam. CHAP. XII. 1759.

§ IV. The merchants residing at Surat, finding themselves exposed to numberless dangers, and every species of oppression, by the Sidee who commanded the castle on one hand, by the governor of the city on the other, and by the Mahrattas, who had a claim to a certain share of the revenue, made application to the English presidency at Bombay, desiring they would equip an expedition for taking possession of the castle and Tanka, and settle the government of the city upon Pharass Cawn, who had been naib or deputy-governor under Meah Atchund, and regulated the police to the satisfaction of the inhabitants. The presidency embraced the proposal; Admiral Pococke spared two of his ships for this service. Eight hundred and fifty men, artillery and infantry, with fifteen hundred Sepoys, under the command of Captain Richard Maitland, of

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the royal regiment of artillery, were embarked on board the Company's armed vessels commanded by Captain Watson, who sailed on the ninth day of February. On the fifteenth they were landed at a place called Dentiloury, about nine miles from Surat; and here they were encamped for refreshment; in two days he advanced against the French garden, in which a considerable number of the Sidee's men were posted, and drove them from thence, after a very obstinate dispute. Then he erected a battery, from which he battered the wall in breach: but this method appearing tedious, he called a council of war, composed of the land and sea officers, and laid before them the plan of a general attack, which was accordingly executed next morning. The Company's grab, and the bomb-ketches, being warped up the river in the night, were ranged in a line of battle opposite to the Bundar, which was the strongest fortification that the enemy possessed; and under the fire of these the troops being landed, took the Bundar by assault. The outward town being thus gained, he forthwith began to bombard the inner town and castle with such fury, that next morning they both surrendered, on condition of being allowed to march out with their effects; and Captain Maitland took possession without further dispute. Meah Atchund was continued governor of Surat, and Pharass Cawn was appointed naib. The artillery and ammunition found in the castle were secured for the Company, until the Mogul's pleasure was known; and in a little time a phirmaund, or grant, arrived from Delhi, appointing the English Company Admiral to the Mogul; so that the ships

ships and stores belonged to them of course, as part of the Tanka; and they were now declared legal possessors of the castle. This conquest which cost above two hundred men, including a few officers, was achieved with such expedition, that Captain Watson returned to Bombay by the ninth day of April. CHAP. XII. 1759.

§ V. The main body of the English forces which had been centered at Madras, for the preservation of that important settlement, took the field after the siege was raised, and possessed themselves of Conjeveram, a place of great consequence; which, with the fort of Schengelpel, commanded all the adjacent country, and secured the British possessions to the northward. M. Lally, sensible of the importance of the post, took the same route, in order to dislodge them; but finding all his attempts ineffectual, he retired towards Wandewash, where his troops were put into quarters of cantonment. No other operations ensued till the month of September; when Major Brereton, who commanded the English forces, being joined by Major Gordon with three hundred men of Colonel Coote's battalion, resolved to attack the enemy in his turn. On the fourteenth day of the month he began his march from Conjeveram for Wandewash, at the head of four hundred European, seven thousand Sepoys, seventy Europeans, and three hundred black horse, with fourteen pieces of artillery. In his march he invested and took the fort of Trivitar; from whence he proceeded to the village of Wandewash, where the French, to the number of one thousand, were strongly encamped under the guns of a fort commanded

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manded by a Rajah, mounting twenty cannon, under the direction of a French gunner. On the thirteenth day of September at two in the morning, the English attacked the village in three different places, and drove them from it after a very obstinate dispute; but this advantage they were not able to maintain. The black pioneers ran away during the attack, so that proper traverses could not be made in the streets; and at day-break the fort poured in upon them a prodigious discharge of grape-shot with a considerable effect. The enemy had retired to a dry ditch, which served as an entrenchment, from whence they made furious sallies; and a body of three hundred European horse were already in motion, to fall upon and complete their confusion. In this emergency, they retired in disorder; and might have been entirely ruined, had not the body of reserve effectually covered their retreat: yet this could not be effected without the loss of several officers; and above three hundred men killed and wounded. After this mortifying check, they encamped a few days in sight of the fort; and, the rainy season setting in, returned to Conjeveram. The fort of Wanderwash was afterwards garrisoned by French and Sepoys; and the other forces of the enemy were assembled by Brigadier-General de Bussy, at Arcot.

§ VI. During these transactions by land, the superiority at sea was still disputed between the English and French admirals. On the first day of September, Vice-Admiral Pococke sailed from Madras to the southward in quest of the enemy; and next day descried the French fleet, consisting

of fifteen sail, standing to the northward. He forthwith threw out the signal for a general chase, and stood towards them with all the sail he could carry; but the wind abating, he could not approach near enough to engage. During the three succeeding days, he used his utmost endeavours to bring them to a battle, which they still declined, and at last they disappeared. He then directed his course to Pondicherry, on the supposition that they were bound to that harbour; and on the eighth day of the month perceived them standing to the southward: but he could not bring them to an engagement till the tenth, when M. d'Apché, about two in the afternoon, made the signal for battle, and the cannonading began without further delay. The British squadron did not exceed nine ships of the line; the enemy's fleet consisted of eleven; but they had still a greater advantage in number of men and artillery. Both squadrons fought with great impetuosity till about ten minutes after four, when the enemy's rear began to give way: this example was soon followed by their centre; and finally the van, with the whole squadron, both to the south-south-east, with all the canvass they could spread. The British squadron was so much damaged in their mast and rigging that they could not pursue; so that M. d'Apché retreated at his leisure unmolested. On the fifteenth, Admiral Pococke returned to Madras, where his squadron being repaired by the twenty-sixth, he sailed again to Pondicherry, and in the road saw the enemy lying at anchor in line of battle. The wind being off shore, he made the line of battle ahead, and for some time continued in this

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this situation. At length the French Admiral weighed anchor, and came forth; but instead of bearing down upon the English squadron, which had fallen to leeward, he kept close to the wind, and stretched away to the southward. Admiral Pococke finding him averse to another engagement, and his own squadron being in no condition to pursue, he, with the advice of his Captains, desisted, and measured back his course to Madras. On the side of the English, above three hundred men were killed in the engagement, including Captain Miche, who commanded the Newcastle, Captain Gore of the marines, two lieutenants, a master, gunner, and boatswain: the Captains Somerset and Brereton, with about two hundred and fifty men, were wounded; and many of the ships considerably damaged. The loss of the enemy must have been much more considerable, because the English in battle always fire at the body of the ship; because the French squadron was crowded with men; because they gave way and declined a second engagement; and, finally, because they now made the best of their way to the island of Mauritius, in order to be refitted, having on board General Lally, and some other officers. Thus they left the English masters of the Indian coast; superiority still more confirmed by the arrival of Rear-Admiral Cornish, with four ships of the line, who had set sail from England in the beginning of the year, and joined Admiral Pococke at Madras on the eighteenth day of October.

§ VII. The French were not the only enemies with whom the English had to cope in the East-Indies. The great extension of their trade in the kingdom

kingdom of Bengal, had excited the envy and avarice of the Dutch factory, who possessed a strong fort at Chinchura, on the river of Bengal; and resolved, if possible, to engross the whole saltpetre branch of commerce. They had without doubt, tampered with the new Subah, who lay under such obligations to the English, and propably secured his connivance. Their scheme was approved by the Governor of Batavia who charged himself with the execution of it; and, for that purpose, chose the opportunity when the British squadron had retired to the cost of Malabar. On pretence of reinforcing the Dutch garrisons in Bengal, he equipped an armament of seven ships, having on board five hundred European troops, and six hundred Malayese, under the command of Colonel Russel. This armament having touched at Negapatam, proceeded up the bay, and arrived in the river of Bengal about the beginning of October. Colonel Clive, who then resided at Calcutta, had received information of their design, which he was resolved, at all events, to defeat. He complained to the Subah; who, upon such application, could not decently refuse an order to the director and council of Hughley, implying that this armament should not proceed up the river. The Colonel, at the same time, sent a letter to the Dutch Commodore, intimating that, as he had received intimation of their design, he could not allow them to land forces, and march to Chinchura. In answer to this declartion, the Dutch Commodore, whose whole fleet had not yet arrived, assured the English commander that he had no intention to send any forces to Chinchura;

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and begged liberty to land some of his troops for refreshment; a favour that was granted, on condition that they should not advance. Notwithstanding the Subah's order, and his own engagement to this effect, the rest of the ships were no sooner arrived, than he proceed up the river to the neighbourhood of Tannah-fort, where his forces being disembarked, began their march to Chinchura. In the mean time, by way of retaliating the affront he pretended to have sustained, in being denied a passage to their own factory, he took several small vessels on the river belonging to the English company; and the Calcutta India-man commanded by Captain Wilson, homeward-bound, sailing down the river, the Dutchman gave him to understand, that if he presumed to pass he would sink him without further ceremony. The English Captain seeing them run out their guns as if really resolved to put their threats in execution, returned to Calcutta, where two other India ships lay at anchor; and reported his adventure to Colonel Clive, who forthwith ordered the three ships to prepare for battle, and attack the Dutch armament. The ships being properly manned, and their quarters lined with salt-petre, they fell down the river, and found the Dutch squadron drawn up in line of battle, in order to give them a warm reception, for which indeed they seemed well prepared: for three of them were mounted with thirty-six guns each; three of them with twenty-six, and the seventh carried sixteen. The Duke of Dorset, commanded by Captain Forrester, being the first that approached them, dropped anchor close to their line, and began the engagement

engagement with a broadside, which was immediately returned. A dead calm unfortunately intervening, this single ship was for a considerable time exposed to the whole fire of the enemy; but a small breeze springing up, the Calcutta and the Hardwick advanced to her assistance, and a severe fire was maintained on both sides, till two of the Dutch ships, slipping their cables, bore away, and a third was driven ashore. Their Commodore, thus weakened, after a few broadsides, struck his flag to Captain Wilson, and the other three followed his example. The victory being thus obtained without the loss of one man on the side of the English, Captain Wilson took possession of the prizes; the decks of which were strewed with carnage; and sent the prisoners to Colonel Clive at Calcutta. The detachment of troops which they had landed, to the number of eleven hundred men was not more fortunate in their progress. Colonel Clive no sooner received intelligence that they were in full march to Chinchura, than he detached Colonel Forde, with five hundred men, from Calcutta, in order to oppose and put a stop to their march at the French gardens. He accordingly advanced to the northward, and entered the town of Chandernagore, where he sustained the fire of a Dutch party sent out from Chinchura to join and conduct the expected reinforcement. These being routed and dispersed, after a short action, Colonel Forde in the morning proceeded to a plain in the neighbourhood of Chinchura, where he found the enemy prepared to give him battle on the twenty-fifth day of November. They even advanced to the charge with great resolution and activity; but found

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found the fire of the English artillery and battalion so intolerably hot, that they soon gave way, and were totally defeated. A considerable number were killed, and the greater part of those who survived the action were taken prisoners. During this contest, the Nabob, at the head of a considerable army observed a suspicious neutrality; and in all likelihood would have declared for the Dutch had they proved victorious, as he had reason to believe they would, from their great superiority in number. But fortune no sooner determined in favour of the English, than he made a tender of his service to the victor, and even offered to reduce Chinchura with his own army. In the mean time proposals of accommodation being sent to him by the directors and council of the Dutch factory at Chinchura, a negociation ensued, and a treaty was concluded to the satisfaction of all parties. Above three hundred of the prisoners entered into the service of Great-Britain: the rest embarked on board their ships, which were restored as soon as the peace was ratified, and set out on their return for Batavia. After all, perhaps, the Dutch Company meant nothing more than to put their factory of Chinchura on a more respectable footing; and, by acquiring greater weight and consequence among the people of the country than they formerly possessed, the more easily extend their commerce in that part of the world. At any rate it will admit of a dispute among those who profess the law of nature and nations, whether the Dutch company could be justly debarred the privilege of sending a reinforcement to their own garrisons. Be that as it will,

the ships were not restored until the factory at Chinchura had given security to indemnify the English for the damage they had sustained on this occasion. CHAP. XII. 1759.

§ VIII. The success of the English company was still more conspicuous on the coast of Coromandel. The Governor and Council of Madras having received information that the French General, Lally, had sent a detachment of his army to the southward, taken Syringham, and threatened Trichenapally with a siege, it was determined that Colonel Coote, who had lately arrived from England, should take the field, and endeavour to make a diversion to the southward. He accordingly began his march at the head of seventeen hundred Europeans, including cavalry, and three thousand blacks, with fourteen pieces of cannon and one howitzer. On the twenty-seventh day of November he invested the fort of Wandewash: having made a practicable breach, the garrison, consisting of near nine hundred men, surrendered prisoners of war; and he found in the place forty-nine pieces of cannon, with a great quantity of ammunition. Then he undertook the siege of Carangoly, a fortress commanded by Colonel O'Kennely, at the head of one hundred Europeans, and five hundred Sepoys. In a few days he dismounted the greater part of their guns; and they submitted, on condition that the Europeans should be allowed to march out with the honours of war: but the Sepoys were disarmed and dismissed.

§ IX. General Lally, alarmed at the progress of this brave, vigilant, and enterprizing officer, assembled all his forces at Arcot, to the number of two

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thousand two hundred Europeans, including horse; three hundred Caffrees, and ten thousand black troops, or Sepoys; with five-and-twenty pieces of cannon. Of these he assumed the command in person; and on the tenth day of January began his march in order to recover Wandewash. Colonel Coote, having received intelligence on the twelfth that he had taken possession of Conjeveram, endeavoured by a forced march to save the place; which they accordingly abandoned at his approach, and pursuing their march to Wanderwash, invested the fort without delay. The English commander passed the river Palla, in order to follow the same route; and on the twenty-first day of the month, understanding that a breach was already made, resolved to give them battle without further delay. The cavalry being formed, and supported by five companies of Sepoys, he advanced against the enemy's horse, which being at the same time galled by two pieces of cannon, retired with precipitation. Then Colonel Coote, having taken possession of a tank which they had occupied, returned to the line, which was by this time formed in order of battle. Seeing the men in high spirits, and eager to engage, he ordered the whole army to advance: and by nine in the morning they were within two miles of the enemy's camp, where they halted about half an hour. During this interval, the Colonel reconnoitred the situation of the French forces who were very advantageously posted; and made a movement to the right, which obliged them to alter their disposition. They now advanced, in their turn, within three quarters of a mile of the English line, and the cannonading began with great

great fury on both sides. About noon their European cavalry coming up with a resolute air to charge the left of the English, Colonel Coote brought up some companies of Sepoys, and two pieces of cannon, to sustain the horse, which were ordered to oppose them; and these advancing on their flank, disturbed them so much that they broke, and were driven by the English cavalry above a mile from the left, upon the rear of their own army. Mean while, both lines continued advancing to each other; and about one o'clock the firing with small arms began with great vivacity. One of the French tumbrils being blown up by an accidental shot, the English commander took immediate advantage of their confusion. He ordered Major Brereton to wheel Draper's regiment to the left, and fall upon the enemy's flank. This service was performed with such resolution and success, that the left wing of the French was completely routed and fell upon their centre, now closely engaged with the left of the English. About two in the afternoon their whole line gave way, and fled towards their own camp; which, perceiving themselves closely pursued, they precipitately abandoned, together with twenty-two pieces of cannon. In this engagement they lost about eight hundred men killed and wounded, besides about fifty prisoners, including Brigadier-General de Bussy, the Chevalier Godeville quarter-master-general, Lieutenant-Colonel Murphy, three Captains, five Lieutenants, and some other officers. On the side of the English two hundred and sixty-two were killed or wounded, and among the former

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1759. § X. General Lally having retreated with his broken troops to Pondicherry, the Baron de Vasserot was detached towards the same place, with a thousand horse and three hundred Sepoys, to ravage and lay waste the French territory. In the mean time the indefatigable Colonel Coote undertook the siege of Chilliput, which in two days was surrendered by the Chevalier de Tilly; himself and his garrison remaining prisoners of war. Such also was the fate of fort Timmery; which being reduced, the Colonel prosecuted his march to Arcot, the capital of the province, against the fort of which he opened his batteries on the fifth day of February. When he had carried on his approaches within sixty yards of the crest of the glacis, the garrison, consisting of two hundred and fifty Europeans, and near three hundred Sepoys, surrendered as prisoners of war; and here the English commander found two-and-twenty pieces of cannon, four mortars, and a great quantity of all kinds of military stores. Thus the campaign was gloriously finished with the conquest of Arcot; after the French army had been routed and ruined by the diligence of Colonel Coote, whose courage, conduct, and activity cannot be sufficiently admired. The reader will perceive that, rather than interrupt the thread of such an interesting narration, we have ventured to encroach upon the annals of the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty.

§ XI. Having thus followed the British banners through the glorious tracks they pursued in different parts of Asia and America, we must now convert

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our attention to the continent of Europe, where the English arms, in the course of this year, triumphed with equal lustre and advantage. But first it may be necessary to sketch out the situation in which the belligerent powers were found at the close of winter. The vicissitudes of fortune with which the preceding campaign had been chequered, were sufficient to convince every potentate concerned in the war, that neither side possessed such a superiority in strength or conduct as was requisite to impose terms upon the other. Battles had been fought with various success; and surprising efforts of military skill had been exhibited, without producing one event which tended to promote a general peace, or even engender the least design of accommodation: on the contrary, the first and most violent transports of animosity had by this time subsided into a confirmed habit of deliberate hatred; and every contending power seemed more than ever determined to protract the dispute; while the neutral states kept aloof, without expressing the least desire of interposing their mediation. Some of them were restrained by considerations of conveniency: and others waited in suspense for the death of the Spanish monarch, as an event which they imagined would be attended with very important consequences in the southern part of Europe. With respect to the maintenance of the war, whatever difficulties might have arisen in settling funds to support the expence, and finding men to recruit the different armies, certain it is all these difficulties were surmounted before the opening of the campaign. The court of Vienna, though hampered by the narrowness of its finances, still found

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resources in the fertility of its provinces, in the number and attachment of its subjects, who more than any other people in Europe acquiesce in the dispositions of their sovereign; and, when pay cannot be afforded, willingly contribute free quarters for the subsistence of the army. The Czarina, though she complained that the stipulated subsidies were ill paid, nevertheless persisted in pursuing those favourite aims which had for some time influenced her conduct; namely, her personal animosity to the King of Prussia, and her desire of obtaining a permanent interest in the German empire. Sweden still made a show of hostility against the Prussian monarch, but continued to slumber over the engagements she had contracted. France, exhausted in her finances, and abridged of her marine commerce, maintained a resolute countenance; supplied fresh armies for her operations in Westphalia; projected new schemes of conquest; and cajoled her allies with fair promises, when she had nothing more solid to bestow. The King of Prussia's dominions were generally drained, or in the hands of the enemy; but to balance these disadvantages he kept possession of Saxony; and enjoyed his annual subsidy from Great Britain, which effectually enabled him to maintain his armies on a respectable footing, and open the campaign with equal eagerness and confidence.

§ XII. The Hanoverian army, commanded by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, was strengthened by fresh reinforcements from England, augmented with German recruits, regularly paid, and well supplied with every comfort and convenience which foresight could suggest, or money procure; yet, in

in spite of all the precautions that could be taken, they were cut off from some resources which the French, in the beginning of the year, opened to themselves by a flagrant stroke of perfidy, which even the extreme necessities of a campaign can hardly excuse. On the second day of January, the French regiment of Nassau presented itself before the gates of Frankfort on the Maine, a neutral imperial city: and, demanding a passage, it was introduced, and conducted by a detachment of the garrison through the city, as far as the gate of Saxen-hausen, where it unexpectedly halted, and immediately disarmed the guards. Before the inhabitants could recover from the consternation into which they were thown by this outrageous insult, five other French regiments entered the place; and here their General, the Prince de Soubise, established his head-quarters. How deeply soever this violation of the laws of the empire might be resented by all honest Germans, who retained affection for the constitution of their country, it was a step from which the French army derived a very manifest and important advantage: for it secured to them the course of the Maine and the Upper Rhine; by which they received, without difficulty or danger, every species of supply from Mentz, Spire, Worms, and even the country of Alsace; while it maintained their communication with the chain formed by the Austrain forces and the army of the Empire.

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§ XIII. The scheme of operation for the ensuing campaign was already formed between the King of Prussia and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick; and before the armies took the field several skirmishes

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skirmishes were fought and quarters surprised. In the latter end of February, the Prince of Ysembourg detached Major-General Urst with four battalions and a body of horse; who, assembling in Rhotenbourg, surprised the enemy's quarters in the night between the first and second day of March, and drove them from Hirchfield, Vacha, and all the Hessian bailiwicks of which they had taken possession; but the Austrians soon returning in great numbers, and being supported by a detachment of French troops from Frankfort, the Allies fell back in their turn. In a few days, however, they themselves retreated again with great precipitation, though they did not all escape. The Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, with a body of Prussian Hussars, fell upon them suddenly at Molrichstadt, where he routed and dispersed a regiment of Hohenzollern cuirassiers, and a battalion of the troops of Wurtzburgh. He next day, which was the first of April, advanced with a body of horse and foot to Meinungen, where he found a considerable magazine, took two battalions prisoners, and surprised a third posted at Wafungen, after having defeated some Austrian troops that were on the march to its relief. While the Hereditary Prince was thus employed, the Duke of Holstein, with another body of the Confederates, dislodged the French from the post of Freyinstenau.

§ XIV. But the great object was to drive the enemy from Franckfort, before they should receive the expected reinforcements. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, being determined upon this enterprize, assembled all his forces near Fulda, to the amount

amount of forty thousand choice troops, and began his march on the tenth day of April. On the thirteenth he came in sight of the enemy, whom he found strongly encamped about the village of Bergen, between Franckfort and Hanau. Their General, the Duke de Broglio, counted one of the best officers in France with respect to conduct and intrepidity, having received intelligence of the Prince's design, occupied this post on the twelfth; the right of his army being at Bergen, and his centre and flanks secured in such a manner, that the Allies could not make their attack any other way but by the village. Notwithstanding the advantage of their situation, Prince Ferdinand resolved to give them battle, and made his dispositions accordingly. About ten in the morning the grenadiers of the advanced guard began the attack on the village of Bergen with great vivacity; and sustained a most terrible fire from eight German battalions, supported by several brigades of French infantry. The grenadiers of the allied army, though reinforced by several battalions under the command of the Prince of Ysembourg, far from dislodging the enemy from the village, were, after a very obstinate dispute, obliged to retreat in some disorder, but rallied again behind a body of Hessian cavalry. The Allies being repulsed in three different attacks, their General made a new disposition; and brought up his artillery, with which the village, and different parts of the French line, were severely cannonaded. They were not slow in retorting an equal fire, which continued till night; when the Allies retreated to Windekin, with the loss of five pieces of cannon, and about two thou-

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sand men, including the Prince of Ysembourg, who fell in the action. The French, by the nature of their situation, could not suffer much; but they were so effectually amused by the artful disposition of Prince Ferdinand, that instead of taking measures to harass him in his retreat, they carefully maintained their situation, apprehensive of another general attack. Indeed they had great reason to be satisfied with the issue of this battle, without risking in any measure, the advantage which they had gained. It was their business to remain quiet until their reinforcements should arrive; and this plan they invariably pursued. On the other hand, the Allies, in consequence of their miscarriage, were reduced to the necessity of acting upon the defensive, and encountering a great number of difficulties and inconveniences during great part of the campaign, until the misconduct of the enemy turned the scale in their favour. In the mean time the Prince thought proper to begin his retreat in the night towards Fulda, in which his rear suffered considerably from a body of the enemy's light troops under the command of M. de Blaisel, who surprised two squadrons of dragoons, and a battalion of grenadiers. The first were taken or dispersed; the last escaped with the loss of their baggage. The allied army returned to their cantonments about Munster; and the Prince began to make preparations for taking the field in earnest.

§ XV. While the French enjoyed plenty in the neighbourhood of Dusseldorp and Creveldt, by means of the Rhine, the Allies laboured under a dearth and scarcity of every species of provision; because the country which they occupied was

already exhausted, and all the supplies were brought from an immense distance. The single article of forage occasioned such enormous expence, as alarmed the administration of Great-Britain; who in order to prevent mismanagement and fraud for the future, nominated a member of Parliament inspector-general of the forage, and sent him over to Germany in the beginning of the year, with the rank and appointments of a general-officer; that the importance of his character, and the nature of his office, might be a check upon those who were suspected of iniquitous appropriations. This gentleman is said to have met with such a cold reception, and so many mortifications in the execution of his office, that he was in a very little time sick of his employment. An inquiry into the causes of his reception, and of the practices which rendered it necessary to appoint such a superintendant may be the province of some future historian, when truth may be investigated freely, without any apprehension of pains and penalties.

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§ XVI. While great part of the allied army remained in cantonments about Munster, the French armies on the Upper and Lower Rhine, being put in motion, joined on the third day of June near Marpurgh, under the command of the Mareschal de Contades, who advanced to the northward, and fixed his head-quarters at Corbach: from whence he detached a body of light troops to take possession of Cassel, which at his approach was abandoned by General Imhoff. The French army being encamped at Stadtberg, the Duke de Broglio, who commanded the right wing, advanced from Cassel into the territories of Hanover, where

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he occupied Gottingen without opposition; while the allied army assembled in the neighbourhood of Lipstadt, and encamped about Soest and Werle. Prince Ferdinand, finding himself inferior to the united forces of the enemy; was obliged to retire as they advanced, after having left strong garrisons in Lipstadt, Retberg, Munster, and Minden. These precautions, however, seemed to produce little effect in his favour. Retberg was surprised by the Duke de Broglio, who likewise took Minden by assault; and made General Zastrow, with his garrison of fifteen hundred men, prisoners of war; a misfortune considerably aggravated by the loss of an immense magazine of hay and corn, which fell into the hands of the enemy. They likewise made themselves masters of Munster, invested Lipstadt, and all their operations were hitherto crowned with success. The regency of Hanover, alarmed at their progress, resolved to provide for the worst, by sending their chancery and most valuable effects to Stade; from whence, in case of necessity, they might be conveyed by sea to England. In the mean time they exerted all their industry in pressing men for recruiting and reinforcing the army under Prince Ferdinand, who still continued to retire; and on the eleventh day of July removed his head-quarters from Osnabruck to Bompte, near the Weser. Here having received advice that Minden was taken by the French, he sent forwards a detachment to secure the post of Saltznau on that river, where on the fifteenth he encamped.

§ XVII. The General of the allied army had for some time exhibited marks of animosity towards Lord

Lord George Sackville, the second in command, whose extensive understanding, penetrating eye, and inquisitive spirit, could neither be deceived, dazzled, nor soothed into tame acquiescence. He had opposed with all his influence, a design of retiring towards the frontiers of Brunswick, in order to cover that country. He supported his opposition by alledging that it was the enemy's favourite object to cut off their communication with the Weser and the Elbe; in which, should they succeed, it would be found impossible to transport the British troops to their own country, which was at that time threatened with an invasion. He therefore insisted on the army's retreating, so as to keep the communication open with Stade; where, in case of emergency, the English troops might be embarked. By adhering tenaciously to this opinion, and exhibiting other instances of a prying disposition, he had rendered himself so disagreeable to the commander in chief, that, in all appearance, nothing was so eagerly desired as an opportunity of removing him from the station he filled.

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§ XVIII. Meanwhile the French General, anvancing to Minden, encamped in a strong situation; having that town on his right, a steep hill on his left, a morass in front, and a rivulet in rear. The Duke de Broglio commanded a separate body between Hansbergen and Minden, on the other side of the Weser; and a third, under the Duke de Brissac, consisting of eight thousand men, occupied a strong post by the village of Coveldt, to facilitate the route of the convoys from Paderborn. Prince Ferdinand having moved his camp from Soltznau to Petershagen, detached the Hereditary Prince

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Prince on the twenty-eighth day of July to Lubeke, from whence he drove the enemy, and proceeding to Rimsel, was joined by Major-General Dreves, who had retaken Osnabruck, and cleared all that neighbourhood of the enemy's parties: then he advanced towards Hervorden, and fixed his quarters at Kirchlinneger, to hamper the enemy's convoys from Paderborn. During these transactions, Prince Ferdinand marched with the allied army in three columns from Petershagen to Hille, where it encamped, having a morass on the right, the village of Fredewalde on the left, and in front those of Northemmern and Holtzenhausen. Fifteen battalions and nineteen squadrons, with a brigade of heavy artillery, were left under the command of General Wangenheim, on the left, behind the village of Dodenhausen, which was fortified with some redoubts, defended by two battalions. Colonel Luckner, with the Hanoverian hussars, and a brigade of hunters, sustained by two battalions of grenadiers, was posted between Buckebourg and Weser, to observe the body of troops commanded by the Duke de Broglio on the other side of the river.

§ XIX. On the last day of July the Mareschal de Contades, resolving to attack the allied army, ordered the corps of Broglio to repass the river; and, advancing in eight columns, about midnight, passed the rivulet of Barta, that runs along the morass, and falls into the Weser at Minden. At day-break he formed his army in order of battle; part of it fronting the corps of General Wangenheim at Dodenhausen, and part of it facing Hille; the two wings consisting of infantry, and the cavalry

valry being stationed in the centre. At three in the morning the enemy began to cannonade the Prince's quarters at Hille, from a battery of six cannon, which they had raised in the preceding evening on the dike of Eickhorst. This was probably the first intimation he received of their intention. He forthwith caused two pieces of artillery to be conveyed to Hille; and ordered the officer of the piquet-guard posted there to defend himself to the last extremity: at the same time he sent orders to General Giesen, who occupied Lubeke, to attack the enemy's post at Eickhorst; and this service was successfully performed. The Prince of Anhalt, Lieutenant-General for the day, took possession with the rest of the piquets of the village of Halen, where Prince Ferdinand resolved to support his right. It was already in the hands of the enemy, but they soon abandoned it with precipitation. The allied army, being put in motion, advanced in eight columns, and occupied the ground between Halen and Hemmern, while General Wangenheim's corps filled up the space between this last village and Dodenhausen. The enemy made their principal effort on the left, intending to force the infantry of Wangenheim's corps, and penetrate between it and the body of the allied army. For this purpose the Duke de Broglio attacked them with great fury; but was severely checked by a battery of thirty cannon; prepared for his reception by the Count de Buckebourg, grand master of the artillery, and served with admirable effect, under his own eye and direction. About five in the morning both armies cannonaded each other; at six the fire of musquetry

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quetry began with great vivacity; and the action became very hot towards the right, where six regiments of English infantry, and two battalions of Hanoverian guards, not only bore the whole brunt of the French carabineers and gendarmerie, but absolutely broke every body of horse and foot that advanced to attack them on the left and in the centre. The Hessian cavalry, with some regiments of Holstein, Prussian, and Hanoverian dragoons, posted on the left, performed good service. The cavalry on the right had no opportunity of engaging. They were destined to support the infantry of the third line; they consisted of the British and Hanoverian horse, commanded by Lord George Sackville, whose second was the Marquis of Granby. They were posted at a considerable distance from the first line of infantry, and divided from it by a scanty wood that bordered on a heath. Orders were sent, during the action, to bring them up; but whether these orders were contradictory, unintelligible, or imperfectly executed, they did not arrive in time to have any share in the action*; nor,

* That the General was not pleased with the behaviour of Lord George Sackville, may be gathered from the following compliment to the Marquis of Granby, implying a severe reflection upon his superior in command.

Orders of his Serene Highness Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, relative to the behaviour of the troops under him at the famous battle near Minden, on the first of August, 1759.

"His Serene Highness orders his greatest thanks to be given to the whole army, for their bravery and good behaviour yesterday, particularly to the English infantry, and the two battalions of Hanoverian guards; to all the cavalry of the left wing; and to General Wangenheim's corps, particularly the regiment of Holstein, the Hessian cavalry, the Hanoverian regiment du Corps, and Hammerstin's; the same to all the brigades of heavy artillery. His Serene Highness

nor, indeed, were they originally intended for that purpose; nor was there the least occasion for their service; nor could they have come up in time and condition to perform effectual service, had the orders been explicit and consistent, and the commander acted with all possible expedition. Be that as it will, the enemy were repulsed in all their attacks with considerable loss: at length they gave way in every part; and about noon, abandoning the field of battle, were pursued to the ramparts of

Highness declares publickly, that next to God he attributes the glory of the day to the intrepidity and extraordinary good behaviour of these troops, which he assures them he shall retain the strongest sense of as long as he lives; and if ever, upon any occasion, he shall be able to serve these brave troops, or any of them in particular, it will give him the utmost pleasure. His Serene Highness orders his particular thanks to be likewise given to General Sporcken, the Duke of Holstein, Lieutenant-General Imhoff and Urf. His Serene Highness is extremely obliged to the Count de Buckebourg, for his extraordinary care and trouble in the management of the artillery, which was served with great effect; likewise to the commanding officers of the several brigades of artillery, viz. Colonel Browne, Lieutenant-Colonel Hutte, Major Hasse, and the three English Captains, Philips, Drummond, and Foy. His Serene Highness thinks himself infinitely obliged to Major Generals Waldegrave and Kingsley, for their great courage, and the good order in which they conducted their brigades. His Serene Highness further orders it to be declared to Lieutenant General the Marquis of Granby, that he is persuaded that, if he had had the good fortune to have had him at the head of the cavalry of the right wing, his presence would have greatly contributed to make the decision of that day more complete and more brilliant. In short, his Serene Highness orders that those of his suite whose behaviour he most admired be named as the Duke of Richmond, Colonel Fitzroy, Captain Ligonier, Colonel Watson, Captain Wilson, aide-du-camp to Major General Waldegrave, Adjutant Generals Erstoff, Burlow, Durendolle, the Count Tobe, and Malerti; his Serene Highness having much reason to be satisfied with their conduct. And his Serene Highness desires and orders the Generals of the army, that upon all occasions when orders are brought to them by his aides-du-camp, that they may be obeyed punctually, and without delay."

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1759. Minden. In this action they lost a great number of men, with forty-three large cannon, and many colours and standards; whereas the loss of the Allies was very inconsiderable, as it chiefly fell upon a few regiments of British infantry, commanded by the Major-Generals Waldegrave and Kingsley. To the extraordinary prowess of those gallant brigades, and the fire of the British artillery, which was admirably served by the Captains Philips, Macbean, Drummond, and Foy, the victory was in a great measure ascribed. The same night the enemy passed the Weser, and burned the bridges over that river. Next day the garrison of Minden surrendered at discretion; and here the victors found a great number of French officers wounded.

§ XX. At last the Mareschal de Contades seemed inclined to retreat through the defiles of Wittekendstein, to Paderborn; but he was fain to change his resolution, in consequence of his having received advice, that on the very day of his own defeat the Duke de Brissac was vanquished by the Hereditary Prince in the neighbourhood of Coveldt, so that the passage of the mountains was rendered impracticable. The Duke de Brissac had been advantageously encamped, with his left to the village of Coveldt, having the Werra in his front, and his right extending to the salt-pits. In this advantageous situation he was attacked by the Hereditary Prince and General de Kilmanseg with such vivacity and address that his troops were totally routed, with the loss of six cannon, and a considerable number of men killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. After the battle of Minden, Colonel Freytag, at the head of the light troops, took

took in the neighbourhood of Detmold, all the equipage of the Mareschal de Contades, the Prince of Condé, and the Duke de Brissac, with part of their military chest and chancery, containing papers of the utmost consequence*.

§ XXI.

* The following extracts of letters from the Duke de Belleisle to the Mareschal de Contades will convey some idea of the virtue, policy, and necessities of the French ministry:

"I am still afraid that Fischer sets out too late: it is, however, very important, and very essential that we should raise large contributions. I see no other resource for our most urgent expences, and for refitting the troops, but in the money we may draw from the enemy's country; from whence we must likewise procure subsistence of all kinds (independently of the money), that is to say, hay, straw, oats for the winter, bread, corn, cattle, horses, even men, to recruit our foreign troops. The war must not be prolonged; and perhaps it may be necessary, according to the events which may happen between this time and the end of September, to make a downright desert before the lines of the quarters which it may be thought proper to keep during the winter, in order that the enemy may be under a real impossibility of approaching us: at the same time reserving for ourselves a bare subsistence on the route which may be the most convenient for us to take, in the middle of winter, to beat up or seize upon the enemy's quarters. That this object may be fulfilled, I cause the greatest assiduity to be used in preparing what is necessary for having all your troops, without exception, well clothed, well armed, well equipped, and well refitted, in every respect, before the end of November, with new tents; in order that, if it should be adviseable for the King's political and military affairs, you may be able to assemble the whole or part of your army, to act offensively and with vigour, from the beginning of January; and that you have the satisfaction to shew your enemies, and all Europe, that the French know how to act and carry on war, in all seasons, when they have such a General as you are, and a minister of the department of war that can foresee and concert matters with the General.

"You must be sensible, Sir, that what I say to you may become not only useful and honourable, but perhaps even necessary, with respect to what you know, and of which I shall say more in my private letter. "M. Duc de BELLEISLE."

"After observing all the formalities due to the magistrates of Cologn, you must seize on their great artillery by force, telling them that you

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§ XXI. Prince Ferdinand having garrisoned Minden, marched to Hervorden; and the Hereditary Prince passed the Weser at Hamelen, in order to pursue the enemy, who retreated to Cassel, and from thence by the way of Marpurg as far as Giessen. In a word they were continually harassed by that enterprising prince, who seized every opportunity of making an impression upon their army; took the greatest part of their baggage; and compelled them to abandon every place they possessed in Westphalia. The number of his prisoners amounted to fifteen hundred men, besides the garrison left at Cassel, which surrendered at discretion. He likewise surprised a whole battalion, and defeated a considerable detachment under the command of M. d'Armentieres. In the mean time, the allied army advanced in regular marches;

do so for their own defence against the common enemy of the empire; that you will restore them when their city has nothing further to fear, &c. After all, you must take every thing you have occasion for, and give them receipts for it."—

"You must, at any rate, consume all sorts of subsistence on the higher Lippe, Paderborn, and Warsburg; you must destroy every thing which you cannot consume, so as to make a desert of all Westphalia, from Lipstadt and Munster, as far as the Rhine, on one hand: and on the other, from the higher Lippe and Paderborn, as far as Cassel; that the enemy may find it quite impracticable to direct their march to the Rhine, or the Lower Roer; and this with regard to your army, and with regard to the army under M. de Soubise, that they may not have it in their power to take possession of Cassel, and much less to march to Marpurg, or to the quarters which he will have along the Lahn, or to those which you will occupy, from the lower part of the left side of the Roer, and on the right side of the Rhine, as far as Dusseldorp, and at Cologne."

"You know the necessity of consuming or destroying, as far as is possible, all the subsistence, especially the forage, betwixt the Weser and the Rhine on the one hand, and on the other betwixt the Lippe, and the bishoprick of Paderborn, the Dymel, the Fulda, and the Nerra; and to make a desert of Westphalia and Hesse."—

"Although

marches; and Prince Ferdinand, having taken possession of Cassel, detached General Imhoff, with a body of troops, to reduce the city of Munster, which he accordingly began to bombard and cannonade: but d'Armentieres, being joined by a fresh body of troops from the Lower Rhine, advanced to its relief, and compelled Imhoff to raise the siege. It was not long, however, before this General was also reinforced; then he measured back his march to Munster, and the French commander withdrew in his turn. The place was immediately shut up by a close blockade; which, however, did not prevent the introduction of supplies. The city of Munster being an object of

"Although the Prince of Waldeck appears outwardly neutral, he is very ill-disposed, and deserves very little favour: You ought, therefore, to make no scruple of taking all you find in that territory; but this must be done in an orderly manner, giving receipts, and observing the most exact discipline. All the subsistence you leave in this country will fall to the enemy's share, who will; by that means, be enabled to advance to the Lahn, and towards the quarters which you are to occupy on the left side of the Roer. It is therefore a precaution become in a manner indispensably necessary, to carry it all away from thence."—

"The question now is, what plan you shall think most proper for accomplishing, in the quickest and surest manner, our great purpose: which must be to consume, carry off, or destroy; all the forage and subsistence of the country which we cannot keep possession of."—

The upper part of the Lippe, and the country of Paderborn, are the most plentiful; they must, therefore, be eat to the very roots.—

"You did mighty well, to talk in the most absolute tone with regard to the necessaries Racroth and Duysbourg must furnish our troops: it is necessary to speak in that tone to Germans; and you will find your account in using the same to the regencies of the Elector of Cologne, and still more to that of the Palatine.

"After using all becoming ceremony, as we have the power in our hands, we must make use of it, and draw from the country of Bergue what shall be necessary for the subsistence of the garrison of Dusseldorp, and of the light troops, and reserve what may be brought thither from Alsace and the bishoprics for a case of necessity."

importance,

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importance, was disputed with great obstinacy. Armentieres received reinforcements, and the body commanded by Imhoff was occasionlly augmented; but the siege was not formally undertaken till November, when some heavy artillery being brought from England, the place was regularly invested, and the operations carried on with such vigour, that in a few days the city surrendered on capitulation.

§ XXII. Prince Ferdinand having possessed himself of the town and castle of Marpurg, proceeded with the army to Neidar-Weimar, and there encamped; while Contades remained at Giessen, on the south side of the river Lahn, where he was joined by a colleague in the person of the Mareschal d'Estrées. By this time he was become very unpopular among the troops, on account of the defeat at Minden, which he is said to have charged on the misconduct of Broglio, who recriminated on him in his turn, and seemed to gain credit at the court of Versailles. While the two armies lay encamped in the neighbourhood of each other, nothing passed but skirmishes among the light troops, and little excursive expeditions. The French army was employed in removing their magazines, and fortifying Giessen, as if their intention was to retreat to Frankfort on the Maine, after having consumed all the forage, and made a military desert between the Lahn and that river. In the beginning of November, the Mareschal Duke de Broglio returned from Paris, and assumed the command of the army, from whence Contades and d'Estrées immediately retired, with several other

other general officers that were senior to the new commander. CHAP. XII.

§ XXIII. The Duke of Wirtemberg having taken possession of Fulda, the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick resolved to beat up his quarters. For this purpose he selected a body of troops, and began his march from Marpurg early in the morning on the twenty-eighth day of November. Next night they lay at Augerbach, where they defeated the volunteers of Nassau: and at one o'clock in the morning of the thirteenth they marched directly to Fulda; where the Duke of Wirtemberg, far from expecting such a visit, had invited all the fashionable people in Fulda to a sumptuous entertainment. The Hereditary Prince, having reconnoitred the avenues in person, took such measures, that the troops of Wirtemberg, who were scattered in small bodies, would have been cut off, if they had not hastily retired into the town, where, however, they found no shelter. The Prince forced open the gates; and they retreated to the other side of the town, where four battalions of them were defeated and taken; while the Duke himself, with the rest of his forces, filed off on the other side of the Fulda. Two pieces of cannon, two pair of colours, and all their baggage, fell into the hands of the victors; and the Hereditary Prince advanced as far as Rupertenrade, a place situated on the right flank of the French army. Perhaps this motion hastened the resolution of the Duke de Broglio to abandon Giessen, and fall back to Friedberg where he established his head-quarters. The allied army immediately took possession of his camp at Kleinlinnes 1759.

BOOK III. Kleinlinnes and Heuchelam, and seemed to make preparations for the siege of Giessen.

1759. § XXIV. While both armies remained in this position, the Duke de Broglio received the staff as Mareschal of France, and made an attempt to beat up the quarters of the Allies. Having called in all his detachments, he marched up to them on the 25th day of December; but found them so well disposed to give him a warm reception, that he thought proper to lay aside his design, and nothing but a mutual cannonade ensued; then he returned to his former quarters. From Kleinlinnes the allied army removed to Corsdoff, where they were cantoned till the beginning of January, when they fell back as far as Marpurg, where Prince Ferdinand established his head-quarters. The enemy had by this time retrieved their superiority, in consequence of the Hereditary Prince's being detached with fifteen thousand men to join the King of Prussia at Freyberg, in Saxony. Thus, by the victory at Minden, the dominions of Hanover and Brunswick were preserved, and the enemy obliged to evacuate great part of Westphalia. Perhaps they might have been driven on the other side of the Rhine, had not the General of the Allies been obliged to weaken his army for the support of the Prussian monarch, who had met with divers disasters in the course of this campaign. It was not to any relaxation or abatement of his usual vigilance and activity that this warlike prince owed the several checks he received. Even in the middle of winter his troops under General Manteuffel acted with great spirit against the Swedes in Pomerania. They made themselves masters of Damgarten, and several

several other places which the Swedes had garrisoned; and the frost setting in, those who were quartered in the isle of Usedom passed over the ice to Wolgast, which they reduced without much difficulty. They undertook the sieges of Demmen and Anclam at the same time; and the garrisons of both surrendered themselves prisoners of war, to the number of two thousand seven hundred men, including officers. In Demmen they found four-and-twenty pieces of cannon, with a large quantity of ammunition. In Anclam there was a considerable magazine, with six-and-thirty cannon, mortars, and howitzers. A large detachment under General Knobloch surprised Erfurth, and raised considerable contributions at Gotha, Isenach, and Fulda; from whence also they conveyed all the forage and provisions to Saxe-Naumberg. In the latter end of February, the Prussian Major-General Wobersnow marched with a strong body of troops from Glogau in Silesia to Poland; and, advancing by way of Lissa, attacked the castle of the Prince Sulkowski, a Polish grandee, who had been very active against the interest of the Prussian monarch. After some resistance he was obliged to surrender at discretion, and was sent prisoner with his whole garrison to Silesia. From hence Wobersnow proceeded to Posna, where he made himself master of a considerable magazine, guarded by two thousand Cossacks, who retired at his approach; and having destroyed several others, returned to Silesia. In April the fort of Penamunde, in Pomerania, was surrendered to Manteuffel; and about the same time a detachment of Prussian troops bombarded Schwerin, the capital

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of

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of Mecklenburgh. Meanwhile reinforcements were sent to the Russian army in Poland, which in April began to assemble upon the Vistula. The court of Petersburgh had likewise begun to equip a large fleet, by means of which the army might be supplied with military stores and provisions; but this armament was retarded by an accidental fire at Revel, which destroyed all the magazines and materials for ship-building to an immense value.

§ XXV. About the latter end of March the King of Prussia assembled his army at Rhonstock, near Strigau; and advancing to the neighbourhood of Landshut, encamped at Bolchenhayne. On the other hand, the Austrian army, under the command of Mareschal Daun, was assembled at Munchengratz, in Bohemia; and the campaign was opened by an exploit of General Beck, who surprised and made prisoners a battalion of Prussian grenadiers, posted under Colonel Duringsheven, at Griefenberg, on the frontiers of Silesia. This advantage, however, was more than counterbalanced by the activity and success of Prince Henry, brother to the Prussian King, who commanded the army which wintered in Saxony. About the middle of April he marched in two columns towards Bohemia, forced the pass of Peterswalde, destroyed the Austrian magazine at Assig, burnt their boats upon the Elbe, seized the forage and provision which the enemy had left at Lowositz and Leutmeritz, and demolished a new bridge which they had built for their convenience. At the same time General Hulsen attacked the pass of Passberg, guarded by General Reynard, who was taken, with two thousand men, including fifty officers; then,

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he advanced to Satz, in hopes of securing the Austrian magazines; but these the enemy consumed, that they might not fall into his hands, and retired towards Prague with the utmost precipitation. CHAP. XII. 1759.

§ XXVI. Prince Henry, having happily achieved these adventures, and filled all Bohemia with alarm and consternation, returned to Saxony, and distributed his troops in quarters of refreshment, in the neighbourhood of Dresden. In a few days, however, they were again put in motion, and marched to Obelgeburgen; from whence he continued his route through Voightland, in order to attack the army of the Empire in Franconia. He accordingly entered this country by the way of Hoff, on the seventh of May, and next day sent a detachment to attack General Macguire, who commanded a body of Imperialists at Asch, and sustained the charge with great gallantry: but finding himself in danger of being overpowered by numbers, he retired in the night towards Egra. The army of the Empire, commanded by the Prince de Deux-Ponts, being unable to cope with the Prussian General in the field, retired from Cullembach to Bamberg, and from thence to Nuremberg, where, in all probability, they would not have been suffered to remain unmolested, had not Prince Henry been recalled to Saxony. He had already taken Cronach and the castle of Rotenberg, and even advanced as far as Bamberg, when he received advice that a body of Austrians, under General Gemingen, had penetrated into Saxony. This diversion effectually saved the army of the Empire, as Prince Henry immediately returned to the Electorate, after having laid the Bishopric

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of Bamberg and the Marquisate of Cullembach under contribution, destroyed all the magazines provided for the Imperial army, and sent fifteen hundred prisoners to Leipsic. A party of Imperialists, under Count Palfy, endeavoured to harass him in his retreat; but they were defeated near Hoff, with considerable slaughter: nevertheless, the Imperial army, though now reduced to ten thousand men, returned to Bamberg; and as the Prussians approached the frontiers of Saxony, the Austrian General, Gemingen, retired into Bohemia. During all these transactions, the Mareschal Count Daun remained with the grand Austrian army at Schurtz, in the circle of Koninsgratz; while the Prussians, commanded by the King in person, continued quietly encamped between Landshut and Schweidnitz. General Fouquet commanded a large body of troops in the southern part of Silesia: but these being mostly withdrawn, in order to oppose the Russians, the Austrian General, De Fille, who hovered on the frontiers of Moravia, with a considerable detachment, took advantage of this circumstance: and advancing into Silesia, encamped within sight of Neiss.

§ XXVII. As mutual calumny and recrimination of all kinds were not spread on either side, during the progress of this war, the enemies of the Prussian monarch did not fail to charge him with cruelties committed at Schwerin, the capital of Mecklenburgh, which his troops had bombarded, plundered of its archives, cannon, and all its youth fit to carry arms, who were pressed into his service: he besides taxed the duchy at seven thousand men, and a million of crowns, by way of contribution.

tribution. He was also accused of barbarity, in issuing an order for removing all the prisoners from Berlin to Spandau; but this step he justified, in a letter to his ministers at foreign courts, declaring that he had provided for all the officers that were his prisoners the best accommodation, and permitted them to reside in his capital; that some of them had grossly abused the liberty they enjoyed, by maintaining illicit correspondence, and other practices equally offensive, which had obliged him to remove them to the town of Spandau: he desired however, that the town might not be confounded with the fortress of that name, from which it was entirely separated, and in which they would enjoy the same ease they had found at Berlin, though under more vigilant inspection. His conduct on this occasion, he said, was sufficiently authorised, not only by the law of nations, but also by the example of his enemies: inasmuch as the Empress Queen had never suffered any of his officers, who had fallen into her hands, to reside at Vienna; and the court of Russia had sent some of them as far as Casan. He concluded with saying, that, as his enemies had let slip no opportunity of blackening his most innocent proceedings, he had thought proper to acquaint his ministers with his reasons for making this alteration with regard to his prisoners, whether French, Austrians, or Russians.

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§ XXVIII. In the beginning of June, the King of Prussia, understanding that the Russian army had begun their march from the Vistula, ordered the several bodies of his troops, under Hulsen and Wobersnow, reinforced by detachments from his

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* *The following declarations were published by Count Dohna, the Prussian General, on his entering Poland with a body of Prussian troops.*

On the 15th of June.

HIS Prussian Majesty, finding himself under a necessity to cause part of his armies to enter the territories of the republic of Poland, in order to protect them against the threatened invasion of the enemy; declares, that

It must not be understood that his Majesty, by this step taken, intends to make any breach in the regard he has always had for the illustrious republic of Poland, or to lessen the good understanding which has hitherto subsisted between them: but on the contrary, to strengthen the same, in expectation that the illustrious republic will, on its part, act with the like neighbourly and friendly goodwill as is granted to the enemy, than which nothing more is desired.

The nobility, gentry, and magistracy, in their respective districts, between the frontiers of Prussia, so far as beyond Posen, are required to furnish all kinds of provisions, corn, and forage necessary to support an army of 40,000 men, with the utmost dispatch, with an assurance of being paid ready money for the same. But if, contrary to expectation, any deficiency should happen in supplying this demand, his Majesty's troops will be obliged to forage, and use the same means as those taken by the enemy for their subsistence.

In confidence, therefore, that the several jurisdictions upon the Prussian frontiers, within the territories of Poland, will exert themselves to comply with this demand as soon as possible, for the subsistence of the royal army of Prussia, they are assured that thereby all disorders will be prevented, and whatever is delivered will be paid for in ready money.

On the 17th of June.

IT was with the greatest astonishment that the King, my most gracious Lord and Master, heard that several of his own subjects had suffered themselves to be seduced from their allegiance so far as to enter into the service of a potentate with whom he is at war; his Majesty, therefore, makes known by these presents, that all of his subjects serving in the enemy's armies, who shall be taken with arms in their hands, shall, agreeably to all laws, be sentenced to be hanged without

he continued his march towards Posna, where he found the Russian army under Count Soltikoff strongly encamped, having in their rear that city and the river Warta, and in their front a formidable entrenchment mounted with a great number of cannon. Count Dohna judging it impracticable to attack them in this situation with any prospect of success, endeavoured to intercept their convoys to the Eastward; but, for want of provision, was in a little time obliged to return towards the Oder: then the Russians advanced to Zullichaw, in Silesia. The King of Prussia thinking

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without mercy, as traitors to their king and country. Of which all whom it may concern are desired to take notice, &c.

On the 22d of June.

WE invite and desire that the nobility, archbishops, bishops, abbeys, convents, seignories, magistrates, and inhabitants of the republic of Poland, on the road to Posnania, and beyond it, would repair in person, or by deputies, in the course of this week, or as soon after as possible, to the Prussian head-quarters, there to treat with the commander in chief, or the commissary at war, for the delivery of forage and provisions for the subsistence of the army, to be paid for with ready money.

We promise and assure ourselves, that no person in Poland will attempt to seduce the Prussian troops to desert; that no assistance will be given them in such perfidious practices; that they will neither be sheltered, concealed, or lodged; which would be followed by very disagreeable consequences: we expect on the contrary, that persons of all ranks and conditions will stop any run-away or deserter, and deliver him up at the first advanced post, or at the head-quarters; and all expences attending the same shall be paid, and a reasonable gratification superadded.

If any one hath inclination to enter into the King of Prussia's service, with an intention to behave well and faithfully, he may apply to the head-quarters, and be assured of a capitulation for three or four years.

If any Prince or member of the republick of Poland be disposed to assemble a body of men, and to join in a troop, or in a company of the Prussian army, to make a common cause with it, he may depend on a gracious reception, and that due regard will be shewn to his merit, &c.

Count

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Count Dohna had been rather too cautious, considering the emergency of his affairs, gave him leave to retire for the benefit of his health; and conferred his command upon General Wedel, who resolved to give the Russians battle without delay. Thus determined, he marched against them in two columns; and, on the twenty-third day of July, attacked them at Kay, near Zullichaw, where, after a very obstinate engagement, he was repulsed with great loss, Wobersnow being killed and Manteuffel wounded in the action; and in a few days the Russians made themselves masters of Frankfort upon the Oder.

§ XXIX. By this time, the armies of Count Daun and the King of Prussia had made several motions. The Austrians having quitted their camp at Schurtz, advanced towards Zittau in Lusatia, where having halted a few days, they resumed their march, and encamped at Gorlithayn, between Sudenberg and Mark-Dissau. His Prussian Majesty, in order to observe their motions, marched by the way of Hertzberg to Lahn; and his vanguard skirmished with that of the Austrians commanded by Laudohn, who entered Silesia by the way of Griffenberg. The Austrian General was obliged to retreat with loss; while the King penetrated into Silesia, that he might be at hand to act against the Russians, whose progress was now become the chief object of his apprehension. He no sooner received intimation that Wedel had been worsted, than he marched with a select body of ten thousand men from his camp in Silesia, in order to take upon him the command of Wedel's army, leaving the rest of his forces strongly encamped

encamped, under the direction of his brother Prince Henry, who had joined him before this event. Count Daun being apprised of the King's intention, and knowing the Russians were very defective in cavalry, immediately detached a body of twelve thousand horse to join them, under the command of Laudohn; and these penetrating in two columns through Silesia and Lusatia, with some loss, arrived in the Russian camp at a very critical juncture. Meanwhile the King of Prussia joined General Wedel on the fourth day of August at Muhlrose, where he assumed the command of the army: but finding it greatly inferior to the enemy he recalled General Finck, whom he had detached some time before with a body of nine thousand men, to oppose the progress of the Imperialists in Saxony: for when Prince Henry joined his brother in Silesia, the army of the empire had entered that electorate. Thus reinforced, the number of the King's army at Muhlrose did not exceed fifty thousand; whereas the Russians were more numerous by thirty thousand. They had chosen a strong camp at the village of Cunersdorf, almost opposite to Franckfort upon the Oder, and increased the natural strength of their situation by entrenchments mounted with a numerous artillery. In other circumstances it might have been deemed a rash and ridiculous enterprize, to attack such an army under such complicated disadvantages; but here was no room for hesitation. The King's affairs seemed to require a desperate effort; and perhaps he was partly impelled by self-confidence and animosity.

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§ XXX. Having determined to hazard an attack, he made his disposition; and on the twelfth day of August, at two in the morning, his troops were in motion. The army being formed in a wood, advanced towards the enemy; and about eleven the action was begun with a severe cannonade. This having produced the desired effect, he charged the left wing of the Russian army with his best troops formed in columns. After a very obstinate dispute the enemy's entrenchments were forced with great slaughter, and seventy pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the Prussians. A narrow defile was afterwards passed, and several redoubts that covered the village of Cunersdorf were taken by assault, one after another: one half of the task was not yet performed: the Russians made a firm stand at the village; but they were overborne by the impetuosity of the Prussians, who drove them from post to post up to the last redoubts they had to defend. As the Russians kept their ground until they were hewn down in their ranks, this success was not acquired without infinite labour, and a considerable expence of blood. After a furious contest of six hours, fortune seemed to declare so much in favour of the Prussians, that the King dispatched the following billet to the Queen at Berlin: "Madam, we have driven the "Russians from their entrenchments. In two "hours expect to hear of a glorious victory." This intimation was premature, and subjected the writer to the ridicule of his enemies. The Russians were staggered, not routed. General Soltikoff rallied his troops, and reinforced his left wing under cover of a redoubt, which was erected on an eminence

eminence called the Jews' Burying-ground; and here they stood in order of battle, with the most resolute countenance; favoured by the situation, which was naturally difficult of access, and now rendered almost impregnable by the fortification, and a numerous artillery still greatly superior to that of the Prussians. Had the King contented himself with the advantage already gained, all the world would have acknowledged he had fought against terrible odds with astonishing prowess; and that he judiciously desisted, when he could no longer presevere without incurring the imputation of being actuated by phrenzy or despair. His troops had not only suffered severely from the enemy's fire, which was close, deliberate, and well directed; but they were fatigued by the hard service, and fainting with the heat of the day, which was excessive. His general officers are said to have reminded him of all these circumstances: and to have dissuaded him from hazarding an attempt attended with such danger and difficulty as even an army of fresh troops could hardly hope to surmount. He rejected this salutary advice, and ordered his infantry to begin a new attack; which being an enterprize beyond their strength, they were repulsed with great slaughter. Being afterwards rallied, they returned to the charge; they miscarried again, and their loss was redoubled. Being thus rendered unfit for further service, the cavalry succeeded to the attack; and repeated their unsuccessful efforts until they were almost broke, and entirely exhausted. At this critical juncture, the whole body of the Austrian and Russian cavalry, which had hitherto remained

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inactive, and were therefore fresh, and in spirits, fell in among the Prussian horse with great fury, broke the line at the first charge; and forcing them back upon the infantry, threw them into such disorder as could not be repaired. The Prussian army being thus involved in confusion, was seized with a panic, and in a few minutes totally defeated and dispersed, notwithstanding the personal efforts of the King, who hazarded his life in the hottest parts of the battle, led on his troops three times to the charge, had two horses killed under him, and his clothes in several parts penetrated with musquet-balls. His army being routed, and the greater part of his Generals either killed or disabled by wounds, nothing but the approach of night could have saved him from total ruin. When he abandoned the field of battle, he dispatched another billet to the Queen, couched in these terms: "Remove from Berlin with the royal family. Let "the archives be carried to Potsdam. The town "may make conditions with the enemy." The horror and confusion which this intimation produced at Berlin may be easily conceived: horror the more aggravated, as it seized them in the midst of their rejoicings occasioned by the first dispatch; and this was still more dreadfully augmented, by a subsequent indistinct relation, importing that the army was totally routed, the King missing, and the enemy in full march to Berlin. The battle of Cunersdorf was by far the most bloody action that had happened since the commencement of hostilities. The carnage was truly horrible: above twenty thousand Prussians lay dead on the field: and among these General Putkammer. The Generals Seidlitz, Itzenplitz,

Itzenplitz, Hulsen, Finck, and Wedel the prince of Wirtemberg, and five Major-Generals, were wounded. The loss of the enemy amounted to ten thousand. It must be owned that, if the King was prodigal of his own person, he was likewise very free with the lives of his subjects. At no time since the days of ignorance and barbarity, were the lives of men squandered away with such profusion as in the course of this German war. They were not only unnecessarily sacrificed in various exploits of no consequence, but lavishly exposed to all the rigour and distemper of winter campaigns, which were introduced on the continent, in despite of nature, and in contempt of humanity. Such are the improvements of warriors without feeling! such the refinements of German discipline! On the day that succeeded the defeat at Cunersdorf, the King of Prussia, having lost the best part of his army, together with his whole train of artillery, re-passed the Oder, and encamped at Retwin; from whence he advanced to Fustenwalde, and saw with astonishment the forbearance of the enemy. Instead of taking possession of Berlin, and overwhelming the wreck of the King's troops, destitute of cannon, and cut off from all communication with Prince Henry, they took no step to improve the victory they had gained. Laudohn retired with his horse immediately after the battle; and Count Soltikoff marched with part of the Russians into Lusatia, were he joined Daun, and held consultations with that General. Perhaps the safety of the Prussian Monarch was owing to the jealousy subsisting among his enemies. In all probability, the

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court of Vienna would have been chagrined to see the Russians in possession of Brandenburgh, and therefore thwarted their designs upon that electorate. The King of Prussia had now reason to be convinced, that his situation could not justify such a desperate attack as that in which he had miscarried at Cunersdorf; for if the Russians did not attempt the reduction of his capital, now that he was totally defeated, and the flower of his army cut off, they certainly would not have aspired at that conquest while he lay encamped in the neighbourhood with fifty thousand veterans, inured to war, accustomed to conquer, confident of success, and well supplied with provision, ammunition, and artillery. As the victors allowed him time to breathe, he improved this interval with equal spirit and sagacity: He re-assembled and refreshed his broken troops; he furnished his camp with cannon from the arsenal at Berlin, which likewise supplied him with a considerable number of recruits: he recalled General Kleist, with five thousand men, from Pomerania; and in a little time retrieved his former importance.

§ XXXI. The army of the Empire having entered Saxony, where it reduced Leipsick, Torgau, and even took possession of Dresden itself, the King detached six thousand men under General Wunch, to check the progress of the Imperialists in that electorate; and perceiving the Russians intended to besiege Great Glogau, he, with the rest of his army, took post between them and that city, so as to frustrate their design. While the four great armies, commanded by the King of Prussia, General Soltikoff, Prince Henry, and Count Daun, lay

lay encamped in Lusatia, and on the borders of Silesia, watching the motions of each other, the war was carried on by detachments with great vivacity. General Wunch having retaken Leipsick, and joined Finck at Eulinbourg, the united body began their march towards Dresden; and a detachment from the army of the Empire, which had encamped near Dobelin, retired at their approach. As they advanced to Nossin, General Haddick abandoned the advantageous posts he occupied near Roth-Scemberg; and, being joined by the whole army of the Empire, resolved to attack the Prussian Generals, who now encamped at Corbitz near Meissen; accordingly, on the twenty-first day of September, he advanced against them, and endeavoured to dislodge them by a furious cannonade, which was mutually maintained from morning to night, when he found himself obliged to retire with considerable loss; leaving the field of battle, with about five hundred prisoners, in the hands of the Prussians. CHAP. XII. 1759.

§ XXXII. This advantage was succeeded by another exploit of Prince Henry, who, on the twenty-third day of the month, quitted his camp at Hornsdorf, near Gorlitz; and, after an incredible march of eleven German miles, by the way of Rothenberg, arrived, about five in the afternoon, at Hoyerswerda, where he surprised a body of four thousand men, commanded by General Vehla, killed six hundred, and made twice that number prisoners; including the commander himself. After this achievement he joined the corps of Finck and Wunch; while Mareschal Daun likewise abandoned his camp in Lusatia, and made a forced

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march to Dresden, in order to frustrate the Prince's supposed design on that capital. The Russians, disappointed in their scheme upon Glogau, had repassed the Oder at Neusalze, and were encamped at Fraustadt; General Laudohn, with a body of Austrians, lay at Sclichtingskeim; and the King of Prussia at Koben; all three on or near the banks of that river. Prince Henry, perceiving his army almost surrounded by Austrian detachments, ordered General Finck to drive them from Vogelsang, which they abandoned accordingly; and sent Wunch, with six battalions and some cavalry, across the Elbe, to join the corps of General Rebentish at Wittenberg, whither he retired from Duben at the approach of the Austrians. On the twenty-ninth day of October the Duke d'Aremberg, with sixteen thousand Austrians, decamped from Dammitch, in order to occupy the heights near Pretsch, and was encountered by General Wunch; who, being posted on two rising grounds, cannonaded the Austrians on their march with considerable effect; and the Prince took twelve hundred prisoners, including Lieutenant-General Gemmington, and twenty inferior officers, with some cannon, great part of their tents, and a large quantity of baggage. The Duke was obliged to change his route, while Wunch marched from Duben to Eulenburg; and General Wassersleben occupied Strehla, where next day the whole army encamped. In this situation the Prince remained till the sixteenth day of November; when, being in danger of having his communication with Torgau cut off by the enemy, he removed to a strong camp, where his left flank

was

was covered with that city and the river Elbe: his right being secured by a wood, and great part of his front by an impassable morass. Here he was reinforced with about twenty thousand men from Silesia, and joined by the King himself, who forthwith detached General Finck, with nineteen battalions and thirty-five squadrons, to take possession of the defiles of Maxen and Ottendorf, with a view to hinder the retreat of the Austrians to Bohemia. This motion obliged Daun to retire to Plauen; and the King advanced to Wilsdurf, imagining that he had effectually succeeded in his design. Letters were sent to Berlin and Magdebourgh, importing that the Count Daun would be forced to hazard a battle, as he had now no resource but in victory. Finck had no sooner taken post on the hill near the village of Maxen, than the Austrian General sent officers to reconnoitre his situation, and immediately resolved to attack him with the corps de reserve under the Baron de Sincere, which was encamped in the neighbourhood of Dippodeswalda. It was forthwith divided into four columns, which filed off through the neighbouring woods; and the Prussians never dreamed of their approach until they saw themselves entirely surrounded. In this emergency they defended themselves with their cannon and musquetry until they were overpowered by numbers, and their battery was taken: then they retired to another rising ground, where they rallied, but were driven from eminence to eminence; until, by favour of the night, they made their last retreat to Falkenhayn. In the mean time, Count Daun had made such dispositions, that at day-break General Finck found

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found himself entirely inclosed, without the least possibility of escaping, and sent a trumpet to Count Daun, to demand a capitulation. This was granted in one single article; importing, That he and eight other Prussian Generals, with the whole body of troops they commanded, should be received as prisoners of war. He was obliged to submit; and his whole corps, amounting to nineteen battalions and thirty-five squadrons, with sixty-four pieces of cannon, fifty pair of colours, and twenty-five standards, fell into the hands of the Austrian Generals. The misfortune was the more mortifying to the King of Prussia, as it implied a censure on his conduct, for having detached such a numerous body of troops to a situation where they could not be sustained by the rest of his army. On the other hand, the court of Vienna exulted in this victory, as an infallible proof of Daun's superior talents; and, in point of glory and advantage, much more than an equivalent for the loss of the Saxon army, which, though less numerous, capitulated in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, after having held out six weeks against the whole power of the Prussian Monarch. General Hulsen had been detached, with about nine battalions and thirty squadrons, to the assistance of Finck; but he arrived at Klingenberg too late to be of any service; and, being recalled, was next day sent to occupy the important post of Freyberg.

§ XXXIII. The defeat of General Finck was not the only disaster which befel the Prussians at the close of this campaign. General Diercke, who was posted with seven battalions of infantry,

and a thousand horse, on the right bank of the Elbe, opposite to Meissen, finding it impracticable to lay a bridge of pontoons across the river, on account of the floating ice, was obliged to transport his troops in boats; and when all were passed except himself, with the rear-guard, consisting of three battalions, he was, on the third day of December, in the morning, attacked by a strong body of Austrians, and taken with all his men, after an obstinate dispute. The King of Prussia, weakened by these two successive defeats, that happened in the rear of an unfortunate campaign, would hardly have been able to maintain his ground at Freyberg, had he not been at this juncture reinforced by the body of troops under the command of the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick. As for Daun, the advantages he had gained did not elevate his mind above the usual maxims of his cautious discretion. Instead of attacking the King of Prussia, respectable and formidable even in adversity, he quietly occupied the strong camp at Pirna; where he might be at hand to succour Dresden, in case it should be attacked, and maintain his communication with Bohemia.

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§ XXXIV. By this time the Russians had retired to winter-quarters in Poland; and the Swedes, after a fruitless excursion in the absence of Manreuffel, retreated to Stralsund and the isle of Rugen. This campaign, therefore, did not prove more decisive than the last. Abundance of lives were lost, and great part of Germany was exposed to rapine, murder, famine, desolation, and every species of misery that war could engender. In vain the confederating powers of Austria, Russia, and

Sweden,

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Sweden, united their efforts to crush the Prussian monarch. Though his army had been defeated, and he himself totally overthrown, with great slaughter, in the heart of his own dominions; though he appeared in a desperate situation, environed by hostile armies, and two considerable detached bodies of his troops were taken or destroyed; yet he kept all his adversaries at bay till the approach of winter, which proved his best auxiliary; and even maintained his footing in the electorate of Saxony, which seemed to be the prize contested between him and the Austrian general. Yet, long before the approach of winter, one would imagine he must have been crushed between the shock of so many adverse hosts, had they been intent upon closing him in, and heartily concurred for his destruction: but, instead of urging the war with accumulated force, they acted in separate bodies, and with jealous eye seemed to regard the progress of each other. It was not, therefore, to any compunction, or kind of forbearance, in the court of Vienna, that the inactivity of Daun was owing. The resentment of the House of Austria seemed, on the contrary, to glow with redoubled indignation; and the majority of the Germanick body seemed to enter with warmth into her quarrel.*

§ XXXV.

* The obstinacy of the powers in opposition to Great-Britain and Prussia appeared still more remarkable in their slighting the following declaration, which Duke Louis of Brunswick delivered to their ministers at the Hague, in the month of December, after Quebeck was reduced, and the fleet of France totally defeated:

"Their Britannick and Prussian Majesties, moved with compassion at the mischief which the war that has been kindled for some years has already occasioned, and must necessarily produce, would think themselves wanting to the duties of humanity, and particularly

§ XXXV. When the protestant states in arms against the court of Vienna were put under the ban of the Empire, the Evangelical body, though without the concurrence of the Swedish and Danish ministers, issued an arret at Ratisbon, in the month of November of the last year, and to this annexed the twentieth article of the capitulation signed by the Emperor at his election, in order to demonstrate that the protestant states claimed nothing but what was agreeable to the constitution. They declared that their association was no more than a mutual engagement, by which they obliged themselves to adhere to the laws, without suffering, under any pretext, that the power of putting under the ban of the Empire should reside wholly in the Emperor. They affirmed that this power was renounced, in express terms, by the capitulation: they, therefore, refused to admit, as legal, any sentence of the ban deficient in the requisite conditions; and inferred that, according to law, neither the Elector of Brandenburgh, nor the Elector of Hanover, nor the Duke of Wolfenbuttel, nor the Landgrave of Hesse, nor the Count of Lippe-Buckebourg, ought to be prescribed. The Imperial protestant cities having acceded to this arret

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larly to their tender concern for the preservation and well-being of their respective kingdoms and subjects, if they neglected the proper means to put a stop to the progress of so severe a calamity, and to contribute to the re-establishment of publick tranquillity. In this view, and in order to manifest the purity of their intentions, in this respect, their said Majesties have determined to make the following declaration," viz.

"That they are ready to send plenipotentiaries to the place which shall be thought most proper, in order there to treat, conjointly, of a solid and general peace with those whom the belligerent parties shall think fit to authorise, on their part, for the attaining so salutary an end."

or

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or declaration, the Emperor, in a rescript, required them to retract their accession to the resolution of their Evangelick body; which, it must be owned, was altogether inconsistent with their former accession to the resolutions of the diet against the King of Prussia. This rescript having produced no effect, the arret was answered in February by an Imperial decree of commission carried to the dictature, importing, that the Imperial court could not longer hesitate about the execution of the ban, without infringing that very article of the capitulation which they had specified: that the invalidity of the arret was manifest, inasmuch as the Electors of Brandenburgh and Brunswick, the Dukes of Saxe-Gotha and Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, were the very persons who disturbed the Empire; this, therefore, being an affair in which they themselves were parties, they could not possibly be qualified to concur in a resolution of this nature; besides, the number of the other states which had acceded was very inconsiderable: for these reasons, the Emperor could not but consider the resolution in question as an act whereby the general peace of the Empire was disturbed, both by the parties that had incurred the ban, and by the states which had joined them, in order to support and favour their frivolous pretensions. His Imperial Majesty expressed his hope and confidence, that the other Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire would vote the said resolution to be null, and of no force; and never suffer so small a number of States, who were adherents, of and abettors to the disturbers of the Empire, to prejudice the rights and prerogatives

tives of the whole Germanick body; to abuse the name of the associated states of the Augsbourg confession, in order forcibly to impose a *factum*, entirely repugnant to the constitution of the Empire; to deprive their co-estates of the right of voting freely, and thereby endeavouring totally to subvert the system of the Germanick body. These remarks will speak for themselves to the reflection of the unprejudiced reader. CHAP. XII. 1759.

§ XXXVI. The implacability of the court of Vienna was equalled by nothing but the perseverance of the French ministry. Though their numerous army had not gained one inch of ground in Westphalia, the campaign on that side having ended exactly where it had begun: though the chief source of their commerce in the West-Indies had fallen into the hands of Great Britain, and they had already laid their account with the loss of Quebeck: though their coffers rung with emptiness, and their confederates were clamorous for subsidies; they still resolved to maintain the war in Germany: this was doubtless the most politick resolution to which they could adhere; because their enemies, instead of exerting all their efforts where there was almost a certainty of success, kindly condescended to seek them where alone their whole strength could be advantageously employed, without any great augmentation of their ordinary expence. Some of the springs of their national wealth were indeed exhausted, or diverted into other channels; but the subjects declared for a continuation of the war, and the necessities of the state were supplied by the loyalty and attachment of the people. They not only acquiesced in the bankruptcy

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bankruptcy of public credit, when the court stopped payment of the interest on twelve different branches of the national debt, but they likewise sent in large quantities of plate to be melted down, and coined into specie for the maintenance of the war. All the bills drawn to the Government by the colonies were protested to an immense amount, and a stop was put on all the annuities granted at Marseilles on sums borrowed for the use of the marine. Besides the considerable savings occasioned by these acts of State-bankruptcy, they had resources of credit among the merchants of Holland, who beheld the success of Great Britain with an eye of jealousy; and were moreover inflamed against her with the most rancorous resentment, on account of the captures which had been made of their West-India ships by the English cruisers.

§ XXXVII. In the month of February, the merchants of Amsterdam, having received advice that the cargoes of the West-India ships, detained by the English, would, by the British courts of judicature, be declared lawful prizes, as being French property, sent a deputation, with a petition to the States-General, entreating them to use their intercession with the court of London, representing the impossibility of furnishing the proofs required in so short a time as that prescribed by the British Admiralty; and that, as the island of St. Eustatia had but one road, and there was no other way of taking in cargoes but that of Overschippen,* to which the English had objected, a condemnation of these ships, as legal prizes, would give the

* The method called Overschippen is that of using French boats to load Dutch vessels with the produce of France.

finishing stroke to the trade of the colony. What- CHAP. XII.
ever remonstrances the States-General might have
made on this subject to the ministry of Great Bri- 1759.
tain, they had no effect upon the proceedings of the court of Admiralty, which continued to condemn the cargoes of the Dutch ships as often as they were proved to be French property; and this resolute uniformity in a little time intimidated the subjects of Holland from persevering in this illicit branch of commerce. The enemies of England in that republick, however, had so far prevailed, that in the beginning of the year the states of Holland had passed a formal resolution to equip five-and-twenty ships of war; and orders were immediately dispatched to the officers of the Admiralty to complete the armament with all possible expedition. In the month of April, the States-General sent over to London three ministers extraordinary, to make representations, and remove if possible the causes of misunderstanding that had arisen between Great Britain and the United Provinces. They delivered their credentials to the King, with a formal harangue; they said his Majesty would see, by the contents of the letter they had the honour to present, how ardently their High Mightinesses desired to cultivate the sincere friendship which had so long subsisted between the two nations, so necessary for their common welfare and preservation: they expressed an earnest wish that they might be happy enough to remove those difficulties which had for some time struck at this friendship, and caused so much prejudice to the principal subjects of the Republick; who, by the commerce they carried on, constituted its greatest

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strength, and chief support. They declared their whole confidence was placed in his Majesty's equity, for which the Republick had the highest regard; and in the good-will he had always expressed towards a state which on all occasions had interested itself in promoting his glory; a state which was the guardian of the precious trust bequeathed by a princess so dear to his affection. "Full of "this confidence (said they) we presume to flatter "ourselves that your Majesty will be graciously "pleased to listen to our just demands; and we "shall endeavour, during the course of our ministry, "to merit your approbation, in strengthening the "bonds by which the two nations ought to be for "ever united."—In answer to this oration, the King assured them that he had always regarded their High Mightinesses as his best friends. He said, if difficulties had arisen concerning trade, they ought to be considered as the consequences of a burthensome war which he was obliged to wage with France. He desired they would assure their High Mightinesses, that he should endeavour, on his part, to remove the obstacles in question; and expressed his satisfaction that they (the deputies) were come over with the same disposition.—What representations these deputies made, further than complaints of some irregularities in the conduct of the British sea-officers, we cannot pretend to specify: but as the subject in dispute related entirely to the practices of the courts of judicature, it did not fall properly under the cognizance of the Government, which hath no right to interfere with the administration of justice. In all probability, the subjects of Holland were by no means pleased with the

the success of this negociation, for they murmured against the English nation without ceasing. They threatened and complained by turns; and eagerly seized all opportunities of displaying their partiality in favour of the enemies of Great-Britain. CHAP. XII. 1759.

§ XXXVIII. In the month of September Major-general Yorke, the British minister at the Hague, presented a memorial to the States-General, remonstrating, that the merchants of Holland carried on a contraband trade in favour of France, by transporting cannon and warlike stores from the Baltic to Holland, in Dutch bottoms, under the borrowed names of private persons; and then conveying them by the inland rivers and canals, or through the Dutch fortresses, to Dunkirk, and other places of France. He desired that the King his master might be made easy on that head, by their putting an immediate stop to such practices, so repugnant to the connections subsisting by treaty between Great-Britain and the United Provinces, as well as to every idea of neutrality. He observed that the attention which his Majesty had lately given to their representations against the excesses of the English privateers, by procuring an act of Parliament which laid them under proper restrictions, gave him a good title in the same regard on the part of their High Mightinesses. He reminded them that their trading towns felt the good effects of these restrictions; and that the freedom of navigation which their subjects enjoyed amidst the troubles and distractions of Europe, had considerably augmented their commerce. He observed that some return ought to be made to such solid proofs of the King's friendship and moderation;

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tion; at least, the merchants, who were so ready to complain of England, ought not to be countenanced in excesses which would have justified the most rigorous examination of their conduct. He recalled to their memories that, during the course of the present war, the King had several times applied to their High Mightinesses, and to their ministers, on the liberty they had given to carry stores through the fortresses of the republick for the use of France, to invade the British dominions: and though his Majesty had passed over in silence many of these instances of complaisance to his enemy, he was no less sensible of the injury; but he chose rather to be a sufferer himself, than to increase the embarrassment of his neighbours, or extend the flames of war. He took notice that even the court of Vienna had, upon more than one occasion, employed its interest with their High Mightinesses, and lent its name to obtain passes for warlike stores and provisions for the French troops, under colour of the Barrier-Treaty, which it no longer observed; nay, after having put France in possession of Ostend and Nieuport, in manifest violation of that treaty, and without any regard to the rights which they and the King his master had acquired in that treaty, at the expence of so much blood and treasure.

§ XXXIX. The memorial seems to have made some impression on the States-General, as they scrupled to allow the artillery and stores belonging to the French King to be removed from Amsterdam: but these scruples vanished entirely on the receipt of a counter-memorial presented by the Count d'Affry, the French ambassador, who mingled

mingled some effectual threats with his expostula- CHAP. XII.
tion. He desired them to remember, that, during
the whole course of the war, the French King had 1759.
required nothing from their friendship that was inconsistent with the strictest impartiality; and, if he had deviated from the engagements subsisting between him and the republick, it was only by granting the most essential and lucrative favours to the subjects of their High Mightinesses. He observed that the English, notwithstanding the insolence of their behaviour to the republick, had derived, on many occasions, assistance from the protection their effects had found in the territories of the United Provinces; that the artillery, stores, and ammunition belonging to Wessel were deposited in their territories, which the Hanoverian army in passing the Rhine had very little respected: that when they repassed that river, they had no other way of saving their sick and wounded from the hands of the French, than by embarking them in boats, and conveying them to places where the French left them unmolested, actuated by their respect for the neutrality of the republick: that part of their magazines was still deposited in the towns of the United Provinces; where also the enemies of France had purchased and contracted for very considerable quantities of gunpowder. He told them that though these and several other circumstances might have been made the subject of the justest complaints, the King of France did not think it proper to require that the freedom and independency of the subjects of the republick should be restrained in branches of commerce that were not inconsistent with its neutrality, persuaded that the faith

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faith of an engagement ought to be inviolably preserved, though attended with some accidental and transient disadvantages. He gave them to understand that the King his master had ordered the Generals of his army carefully to avoid encroaching on the territory of the republick, and transferring thither the theatre of the war, when his enemies retreated that way before they were forced to pass the Rhine. After such unquestionable marks of regard, he said, his King would have the justest ground of complaint, if contrary to expectation, he should hear that the artillery and stores belonging to him were detained at Amsterdam. Thirdly, he declared that such detention would be construed as a violation of the neutrality; and demanded in the name of the King his master, that the artillery and stores should, without delay, be forwarded to Flanders by the canals of Amsterdam and the inland navigation. This last argument was so conclusive, that they immediately granted the necessary passports; in consequence of which the cannon were conveyed to the Austrian Netherlands.

§ XL. The powers in the southern parts of Europe were too much engrossed with their own concerns to interest themselves deeply in the quarrels that distracted the German empire. The King of Spain, naturally of a melancholy complexion and delicate constitution, was so deeply affected with the loss of his Queen, who died in the course of the preceding year, that he renounced all company, neglected all business, and immured himself in a chamber at Villa-Viciosa, where he gave a loose to the most extravagant sorrow. He abstained

stained from food and rest until his strength was quite exhausted. He would neither shift himself nor allow his beard to be shaved; he rejected all attempts of consolation; and remained deaf to the most earnest and respectful remonstrances of those who had a right to render their advice. In this case, the affliction of the mind must have been reinforced by some peculiarity in the constitution. He inherited a melancholy taint from his father, and this seems to have been dreaded as a family disease; for the infant Don Louis, who likewise resided in the palace of Villa-Viciosa, was fain to amuse himself with hunting, and other diversions, to prevent his being affected with the King's disorder, which continued to gain ground, notwithstanding all the efforts of medicine. The Spanish nation, naturally superstitious, had recourse to saints and relicks: but they seemed insensible to all their devotion. The King, however, in the midst of all his distress, was prevailed upon to make his will, which was written by the Count be Valparaiso, and signed by the Duke de Bejar, High-Chancellor of the kingdom. The exorbitancy of his grief, and the mortifications he underwent, soon produced an incurable malady, under which he languished from the month of September in the preceding year till the tenth of August in the present, when he expired. In his will he had appointed his brother Don Carlos, King of Naples, successor to the crown of Spain; and nominated the Queen Dowager as regent of the kingdom until that Prince should arrive. Accordingly she assumed the reins of government; and gave directions for the funeral of the deceased King, who was interred with great

CHAP. XII. 1759.

pomp

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1759. § XLI. As the death of this prince had been long expected, so the politicians of Europe had universally prognosticated that his demise would be attended with great commotions in Italy. It had been agreed among the subscribing powers to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, that in case Don Carlos should be advanced in the course of succession to the throne of Spain, his brother Don Philip should succeed him on the throne of Naples; and the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, which now constituted his establishment, should revert to the house of Austria. The King of Naples had never acceded to this article; therefore he paid no regard to it on the death of his elder brother; but retained both kingdoms, without minding the claims of the Empress-Queen, who he knew was at that time in no condition to support her pretensions. Thus the German war proved a circumstance very favourable to his interest and ambition. Before he embarked for Spain, however, he took some extraordinary steps, which evinced him a sound politician and sagacious legislator. His eldest son Don Philip, who had now attained the thirteenth year of his age, being found in a state of incurable ideotism*, he wisely and resolutely removed

* *Abstract of the report made to his Catholick Majesty by the physicians appointed to examine the Prince Royal, his eldest son, in consequence of which his Royal Highness was declared incapable of succeeding to the throne of Spain. Translated from the original, published at Naples, Sept. 27.*

1. Though his Royal Highness Don Philip is thirteen years old, he is of low stature; and yet the King his father, and the Queen his mother, are both of a very proper height.

2. His

moved him from the succession, without any regard to the pretended right of primogeniture, by a solemn act of abdication, and the settlement of the crown of the Two Sicilies in favour of his third son, Don Ferdinand. In this extraordinary act he observes, That, according to the spirit of the treaties of this age, Europe required that the sovereignty of Spain should be separated from that of Italy, when such a

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2. His Royal Highness has some contraction in his joints; though he can readily move, and make use of them upon all occasions.

3. His Royal Highness is apt to stoop and to hold down his head, as people of weak eyes often do.

4. The Prince most evidently squints; and his eyes frequently water and are gummy, particularly his left eye; though we cannot say he is blind, but are rather certain of the contrary, as his Royal Highness can without doubt distinguish objects, both as to their colour and situation.

5. In his natural functions, and the most common sensations, he is sometimes indifferent to things that are convenient for him, and at other times is too warm and impetuous. In general, his passions are not restrained by reason.

6. The prince has an obstinate aversion to some kind of common food, such as fruits, sweetmeats, &c.

7. All sorts of noise or sound disturb or disconcert him; and it has the same effect whether it be soft or harmonious, or harsh and disagreeable.

8. The impressions that he receives from pain or pleasure are neither strong nor lasting; and he is utterly unacquainted with all the punctilios of politeness and good breeding.

9. As to facts and places, he sometimes remembers them, and sometimes not; but he seems not to have the least idea of the mysteries of our holy religion.

10. He delights in childish amusements; and those which are the most boisterous please him best. He is continually changing them, and shifting from one thing to another.

Signed by Don Francis Beniore, chief physician to the King and kingdom: Don Emmanuel de la Rosa, physician to the Queen; and the physicians Cæsar Ciribue, Don Thomas Pinto, Don Francis Sarrao, and Don Dominique San Severino.

separation

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separation could be effected without transgressing the rules of justice: that the unfortunate Prince-Royal having been destitute of reason and reflection ever since his infancy, and no hope remaining that he could ever acquire the use of these faculties, he could not think of appointing him to the succession, how agreeable soever such a disposition might be to nature and his paternal affection: he was therefore constrained, by the Divine Will, to set him aside, in favour of his third son Don Ferdinand, whose minority obliged him to vest the management of these realms in a regency, which he accordingly appointed, after having previously declared his son Ferdinand from that time emancipated and freed not only from all obedience to his paternal power, but even from all submission to his supreme and sovereign authority. He then declared that the minority of the Prince succeeding to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies should expire with the fifteenth year of his age, when he should act as sovereign, and have the entire power of the administration. He next established and explained the order of succession in the male and female line; on condition that the monarchy of Spain should never be united with the kingdoms of the Two Sicilies. Finally, he transferred and made over to the said Don Ferdinand these kingdoms, with all that he possessed in Italy; and this ordinance, signed and sealed by himself and the Infant Don Ferdinand, and counter-signed by the counsellors and secretaries of state, in quality of members of the regency, received all the usual forms of authenticity. Don Carlos having taken these precautions for the benefit of his third son, whom

whom he left King of Naples, embarked with the rest of his family on board a squadron of Spanish ships, which conveyed him to Barcelona. There he landed in the month of October, and proceeded to Madrid; where, as King of Spain, he was received amidst the acclamations of his people. He began his reign, like a wise Prince, by regulating the interior œconomy of his kingdom; by pursuing the plan adopted by his predecessor; by retaining the ministry under whose auspices the happiness and commerce of his people had been extended: and with respect to the belligerent Powers, by scrupulously adhering to that neutrality from whence these advantages were in a great measure derived. CHAP. XII. 1759.

§ XLII. While he serenely enjoyed the blessings of prosperity, his neighbour the King of Portugal was engrossed by a species of employment which of all others must be the most disagreeable to a prince of sentiment, who loves his people; namely, the trial and punishment of those conspirators by whose atrocious attempt his life had been so much endangered. Among these were numbered some of the first noblemen of the kingdom, irritated by disappointed ambition, inflamed by bigotry, and exasperated by revenge. The principal conspirator, Don Joseph Mascarenhas and Lencastre, Duke de Aveiro, Marquis of Torres Novas, and Conde of Santa Cruz, was hereditary lord-steward of the King's household, and president of the palace-court, or last tribunal of appeal in the kingdom; so that he possessed the first office at the palace, and the second of the realm. Francisco de Assiz, Marquis of Tavora, Conde of St.

John

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John and Alvor, was general of the horse, and head of the third noble house of the Tavoras, the most illustrious family in the kingdom, deriving their origin from the ancient Kings of Leon; he married his kinswoman, who was Marchioness of Tavora in her own right, and by this marriage acquired the Marquisate. Louis Bernardo de Tavora was their eldest son, who, by virtue of a dispensation from the Pope, had espoused his own aunt, Donna Theresa de Tavora. Joseph Maria de Tavora, his youngest brother, was also involved in the guilt of his parents. The third principal concerned was Don Jeronymo de Attaide, Conde of Attouguia, himself a relation, and married to the eldest daughter of the Marquis of Tavora. The characters of all these personages were unblemished and respectable, until this machination was detected. In the course of investigating this dark affair, it appeared that the Duke de Aveiro had conceived a personal hatred to the King, who had disappointed him in a projected match between his son and a sister of the Duke de Cadaval, a minor, and prevented his obtaining some commanderies which the late Duke de Aveiro had possessed: that this nobleman, being determined to gratify his revenge against the person of his Sovereign, had exerted all his art and address in securing the participation of the malcontents; that with this view he reconciled himself to the Jesuits, with whom he had been formerly at variance, knowing they were at this time implacably incensed against the King, who had dismissed them from their office of penitentiaries at court, and branded them with other marks of disgrace, on account of

their illegal and rebelious practices in South America: the Duke, moreover, insinuated himself into the confidence of the Marchioness of Tavora, notwithstanding an inveterate rivalship of pride and ambition, which had long subsisted between the two families. Her resentment against the King was inflamed by the mortification of her pride in repeated repulses, when she solicited the title of Duke for her husband. Her passions were artfully fomented and managed by the Jesuits, to whom she had resigned the government of her conscience; and they are said to have persuaded her that it would be a meritorious action to take away the life of a prince who was an enemy to the church and a tyrant to his people. She, being reconciled to the scheme of assassination, exerted her influence in such a manner as to inveigle her husband, her sons, and son-in-law, into the same infamous design; and yet this lady had been always remarkable for her piety, affability, and sweetness of disposition. Many consultations were held by the conspirators at the colleges of the Jesuits, St. Antoa, and St. Roque, as well as at the houses of the Duke and the Marquis. At last they resolved that the King should be assassinated; and employed two ruffians, called Antonio Alvarez and Joseph Policarpio, for the execution of this design, the miscarriage of which we have related among the transactions of the preceding year. In the beginning of January, before the circumstances of the conspiracy were known, the Courts de Oberas and de Ribeira Grande were imprisoned in the castle of St. Julian, on a suspicion arising from their freedom of speech. The Duchess de Aveiro,

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1759. the Countess of Attouguia, and the Marchioness of Alorna, with their children, were sent to different nunneries; and eight Jesuits were taken into custody. A council being appointed for the trial of the prisoners, the particulars we have related were brought to light by the torture; and sentence of death was pronounced and executed upon the convicted criminals. Eight wheels were fixed upon a scaffold raised in the square opposite to the house were the prisoners had been confined; and the thirteenth of January was fixed for the day of execution. Antonio Alvarez Forreira, one of the assassins who had fired into the King's equipage, was fixed to a stake at one corner of the scaffold; and at the other was placed the effigies of his accomplice, Joseph Polcarpio de Azevedo, who had made his escape. The Marchioness of Tavora, being brought upon the scaffold between eight and nine in the morning, was beheaded at one stroke, and then covered with a linen cloth. Her two sons, and her son-in-law, the Count of Attouguia, with three servants of the Duke de Aveiro, were first strangled at one stake, and afterwards broke upon wheels, where their bodies remained covered; but the Duke and the Marquis, as chiefs of the conspiracy, were broke alive, and underwent the most excruciating torments. The last that suffered was the assassin Alvarez, who being condemned to be burnt alive, the combustibles which had been placed under the scaffold were set on fire, the whole machine with the bodies consumed to ashes, and these ashes thrown into the sea. The estates of the three unfortunate noblemen were confiscated, and their dwelling-houses razed to the ground.

ground. The name of Tavora was suppressed for ever by a publick decree; but that of Mascarenhas spared, because the Duke de Aveiro was a younger branch of the family. A reward of ten thousand crowns was offered to any person who should apprehend the assassin who had escaped: then the embargo was taken off the shipping. The King and Royal Family assisted at a publick *Te Deum* sung in the chapel of Nossa Senhora de Livramento; on which occasion the King, for the satisfaction of his people, waved his handkerchief with both hands, to shew he was not maimed by the wounds he had received. If such an attempt upon the life of a king was infamously cruel and perfidious, it must be owned that the punishment inflicted upon the criminals was horrible to human nature. The attempt itself was attended with some circumstances that might have staggered belief, had it not appeared but too plain that the King was actually wounded. One would imagine that the Duke de Aveiro, who was charged with designs on the crown, would have made some preparation for taking advantage of the confusion and disorder which must have been produced by the King's assassination; but we do not find that any thing of this nature was premeditated. It was no more than a desperate scheme of personal revenge, conceived with out caution, and executed without conduct: a circumstance the more extraordinary, if we suppose the conspirators were actuated by the councils of the Jesuits, who have been ever famous for finesse and dexterity. Besides, the discovery of all the particulars was founded upon confession extorted by the rack, which at best is a suspicious evidence.

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evidence. Be that as it will, the Portuguese government, without waiting for a bull from the Pope, sequestered all the estates and effects of the Jesuits in that kingdom, which amounted to considerable sums, and reduced the individuals of the society to a very scanty allowance. Complaints of their conduct having been made to the Pope, he appointed a congregation to examine into the affairs of the Jesuits in Portugal. In the mean time the Court of Lisbon ordered a considerable number of them to be embarked for Italy, and resolved that no Jesuits should hereafter reside within its realms. When these transports arrived at Civita-Vecchia, they were, by the Pope's order, lodged in the Dominican and Capuchin convents of that city, until proper houses could be preared for their reception at Tivoli and Frescati. The most guilty of them, however, were detained in close prisons in Portugal; reserved, in all probability, for a punishment more adequate to their enormities.

§ XLIII. England still continued to enjoy the blessings of peace, even amidst the triumphs of war. In the month of November the session of Parliament was opened by commission; and, the Commons attending in the House of Peers, the Lord-Keeper harangued the Parliament to this effect:—He gave them to understand that his Majesty had directed him to assure them that he thought himself peculiarly happy in being able to convoke them in a situation of affairs so glorious to his crown, and advantageous to his kingdoms; that the king saw and devoutly adored the hand of Providence, in the many signal successes both by

by sea and land with which his arms had been blessed in the course of the last campaign; that he reflected with great satisfaction on the confidence which the Parliament had placed in him, by making such ample provisions, and entrusting him with such extensive powers for carrying on a war, which the defence of their valuable rights and possessions, together with the preservation of the commerce of his people, had rendered both just and necessary. He enumerated the late successes of the British arms, the reduction of Goree on the coast of Africa, the conquest of so many important places in America, the defeat of the French army in Canada, the reduction of their capital city of Quebeck, effected with so much honour to the courage and conduct of his Majesty's officers and forces, the important advantage obtained by the British squadron off Cape Lagos, and the effectual blocking up for so many months the principal part of the French navy in their own harbours: events which must have filled the ears of all his Majesty's faithful subjects with the sincerest joy; and convinced his parliament that there had been no want of vigilance or vigour on his part, in exerting those means which they, with so much prudence and public-spirited zeal, had put into his Majesty's hands. He observed that the national advantages had extended even as far as the East-Indies, where, by the Divine blessing, the dangerous designs of his Majesty's enemies had miscarried, and that valuable branch of commerce had received great benefit and protection. That the memorable victory gained over the French at Minden had long made a deep impression on the

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minds of his Majesty's people: that if the crisis in which the battle was fought, the superior number of the enemy, the great and able conduct of his Majesty's General, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, were considered, that action must be the subject of lasting admiration and thankfulness: that if any thing could fill the breasts of his Majesty's good subjects with still further degrees of exultation, it would be the distinguished and unbroken valour of the British troops, owned and applauded by those whom they overcame. He said the glory they had gained was not merely their own; but, in a national view, was one of the most important circumstances of our success, as it must be a striking admonition to our enemies with whom they have to contend. He told them that his Majesty's good brother and ally, the King of Prussia, attacked and surrounded by so many considerable powers, had by his magnanimity and abilities, and the bravery of his troops, been able, in a surprising manner, to prevent the mischiefs concerted with such united force against him. He declared, by the command of his Sovereign, that as his Majesty entered into this war not from views of ambition, so he did not wish to continue it from motives of resentment: that the desire of his Majesty's heart was to see a stop put to the effusion of Christian blood: that whenever such terms of peace could be established as should be just and honourable for his Majesty and his allies; and by procuring such advantages as, from the successes of his Majesty's arms might in reason and equity be expected, should bring along with them full security for the future; his Majesty would rejoice to see the repose of Europe restored

restored on such solid and durable foundations; and his faithful subjects, to whose liberal support and unshaken firmness his Majesty owed so much, happy in the enjoyment of the blessings of peace and tranquillity: but, in order to this great and desirable end, he said his Majesty was confident the Parliament would agree with him, that it was necessary to make ample provision for carrying on the war, in all parts, with the utmost vigour. He assured the Commons that the great supplies they had granted in the last session of Parliament had been faithfully employed for the purposes for which they were granted; but the uncommon extent of the war, and the various services necessary to be provided for, in order to secure success to his Majesty's measures, had unavoidably occasioned extraordinary expences. Finally, he repeated the assurances from the throne of the high satisfaction his Majesty took in that union and good harmony which was so conspicuous among his good subjects; he said, his Sovereign was happy in seeing it continued and confirmed; he observed that experience had shewn how much the nation owed to this union, which alone could secure the true happiness of his people. CHAP. XII. 1759.

§ XLIV. We shall not anticipate the reader's own reflection, by pretending to comment upon either the matter or the form of this harangue, which however produced all the effect which the Sovereign could desire. The Houses, in their respective addresses, seemed to vie with each other in expressions of attachment and complacency. The peers professed their utmost readiness to concur in the effectual support of such further mea-

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sures as his Majesty, in his great wisdom, should judge necessary or expedient for carrying on the war with vigour, in all parts, and for disappointing and repelling any desperate attempts which might be made upon these kingdoms. The Commons expressed their admiration of that true greatness of mind which disposed his Majesty's heart, in the midst of prosperities, to wish a stop put to the effusion of Christian blood, and to see tranquillity restored. They declared their entire reliance on his Majesty's known wisdom and firmness, that this desirable object, whenever it should be obtained, would be upon terms just and honourable for his Majesty and his allies: and, in order to effect that great end, they assured him they would cheerfully grant such supplies as should be found necessary to sustain, and press with effect, all his extensive operations against the enemy. They did not fail to re-echo the speech, as usual; enumerating the trophies of the year, and extolling the King of Prussia for his consummate genius, magnanimity, unwearied activity, and unshaken constancy of mind. Very great reason, indeed, had his Majesty to be satisfied with an address of such a nature from a House of Commons, in which opposition lay strangled at the foot of the minister; in which those demagogues, who had raised themselves to reputation and renown by declaiming against continental measures, were become so perfectly reconciled to the object of their former reprobation, as to cultivate it even with a degree of enthusiasm unknown to any former administration, and lay the nation under such contributions in its behalf, as no other ministry durst

durst ever meditate.* Thus disposed, it was no wonder they admired the moderation of their Sovereign, in offering to treat of peace, after above a million of men had perished by the war, and twice that number been reduced to misery; after whole provinces had been depopulated, whole countries subdued, and the victors themselves almost crushed by the trophies they had gained. CHAP. XII. 1759.

§ XLV. Immediately after the addresses were presented, the Commons resolved themselves into a committee of the whole House; and having unanimously voted a supply to his Majesty, began to take the particulars into consideration. This committee was continued till the twelfth of May, when that whole business was accomplished. For the service of the ensuing year they voted seventy thousand seamen, including eighteen thousand three hundred and fifty-five marines; and for their maintenance allotted three millions six hundred and forty thousand pounds. The number of land forces, including the British troops in Germany, and the invalids, they fixed at fifty-seven thousand two hundred and ninety-four men, and granted for their subsistence one million three hundred eighty-three thousand seven hundred and forty-eight pounds and ten pence. For maintaining other forces in the plantations, Gibraltar, Guadaloupe, Africa, and the East-Indies, they allowed eight hundred forty-six thousand one hundred and sixty-eight pounds, nineteen shillings; for the expence of four regiments on the Irish establishment, serving in North-America, they voted thirty-five thousand seven hundred and forty-four pounds, eight shillings and four pence. For pay to the General

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General and general staff-officers, and officers of the hospital for the land forces, they asigned fifty-four thousand four hundred and fifty-four pounds, eleven shillings and nine pence. They voted for the expence of the militia in South and North Britain the sum of one hundred two thousand and six pounds, four shillings and eight pence. They granted for the maintenance of thirty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty men, being the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttel, Saxe-Gotha, and Buckebourg, retained in the service of Great-Britain, the sum of four hundred forty-seven thousand eight hundred eighty-two pounds, ten shillings, and five pence halfpenny; and for nineteen thousand Hessian troops, in the same pay, they gave three hundred sixty-six thousand seven hundred twenty-five pounds, one shilling and six pence. They afterwards bestowed the sum of one hundred and eight thousand and twelve pounds, twelve shillings and seven pence, for defraying the additional expence of augmentations in the troops of Hanover and Hesse, and the British army serving in the Empire. For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to sea officers; for carrying on the building of two hospitals, one near Gosport, and the other in the neighbourhood of Plymouth; for the support of the Hospital at Greenwich; for purchasing ground, erecting wharfs, and other accommodations necessary for refitting the fleets at Halifax, in Nova-Scotia; for the charge of the Office of Ordnance, and defraying the extraordinary expence incurred by that office in the course of the last year, they allowed seven hundred eighty-one thousand four hundred and eighty-nine pounds,

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six shillings, and six pence. Towards paying off the navy debt, buildings, rebuildings, and repairs of the King's ships; together with the charges of transport service, they granted one million seven hundred and one thousand seventy-eight pounds, sixteen shillings, and six pence. For defraying the extraordinary expences of the land forces and other services not provided for by Parliament, comprehending the pensions for the widows of reduced officers, they allotted the sum of nine hundred fifty-five thousand three hundred and forty four pounds, fifteen shillings, and five pence half-penny. They voted one million to empower his Majesty to discharge the like sum, raised in pursuance of an act made in the last session of Parliament, and charged upon the first aids or supplies to be granted in this session of Parliament. They gave six hundred and seventy thousand pounds for enabling his Majesty to make good his engagements with the King of Prussia, pursuant to a new convention between him and that Monarch, concluded on the ninth day of November, in the present year. Fifteen thousand pounds they allowed upon account, towards enabling the principal officers of his Majesty's Ordnance, to defray the necessary charges and expences of taking down and removing the present magazine for gunpowder, situated in the neighbourhood of Greenwich, and of erecting it in some less dangerous situation. Sixty thousand pounds they gave, to enable his Majesty to fulful his engagements with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, pursuant to the separate article of a treaty between the two powers, renewed in the month of November, the sum to be

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paid as his Most Serene Highness should think it most convenient, in order to facilitate the means by which the Landgrave might again fix his residence in his own dominions, and by his presence give fresh courage to his faithful subjects. Five hundred thousand pounds they voted upon account, as a present supply towards defraying the charges of forage, bread, bread-waggons, train of artillery, wood, straw, provisions, and contingencies of his Majesty's combined army under the command of Prince Ferdinand. To the Foundling Hospital they granted five thousand pounds; and fifteen thousand for improving, widening, and enlarging the passage over and through London Bridge. To replace divers sums taken from the sinking fund, they granted two hundred twenty-five thousand two hundred and eighty-one pounds, nineteen shillings, and four pence. For the subsistence of reduced officers, including the allowances to the several officers and private men of the two troops of horse-guards, and regiment of horse reduced, and to the superannuated gentlemen of the four troops of horse guards, they voted thirty-eight thousand five hundred and ninety-seven pounds, nine shillings. Upon account, for the support of the colonies of Nova-Scotia and Georgia, they granted twenty-one thousand six hundred ninety-four pounds, two shillings, and two pence. For enabling the King to give a proper compensation to the provinces in North-America, for the expences they might incur in levying and maintaining troops, according as the vigour and activity of those respective provinces should be thought by his Majesty to merit, they advanced the

the sum of two hundred thousand pounds. The East India Company they gratified with twenty thousand pounds, towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their settlements, in lieu of a battalion of the King's troops now returned to Ireland. Twenty-five thousand pounds were provided for the payment of the out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital. For subsequent augmentation of the British forces, since the first estimate of guards and garrisons for the ensuing year was presented, they allowed one hundred thirty-four thousand one hundred thirty-nine pounds, seventeen shillings and four pence. They further voted upon account, towards enabling the governors and guardians of the Foundling Hospital to maintain, educate, and bind apprentice the children admitted into the said charity, the sum of forty-seven thousand two hundred and eighty-five pounds. For defraying the expence of maintaining the militia in South and North Britain, to the twenty-fourth day of December of the ensuing year, they voted an additional grant of two hundred ninety thousand eight hundred and twenty-six pounds, sixteen shillings, and eight pence: and, moreover, they granted fourscore thousand pounds, upon account, towards defraying the charge of pay and clothing of the unembodied militia for the year, ending on the twenty-fifth day of March in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one. For reimbursing the colony of New-York their expences in furnishing provisions and stores to the troops raised by them for his Majesty's service, in the campaign of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six,

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they allowed two thousand nine hundred and seventy-seven pounds, seven shillings, and eight pence; and for maintaining the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa they renewed the grant of ten thousand pounds. For the maintenance and augmentation of the troops of Brunswick in the pay of Great-Britain for the ensuing year, pursuant to an ulterior convention concluded and signed at Paderborn on the fifth day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty, they granted the sum of ninety thousand seven hundred and sixty nine pounds, eight shillings, and eleven pence farthing; and for the troops of Hesse-Cassel in the same pay, during the same period, they allotted one hundred and one thousand ninety-six pounds, three shillings, and two pence. For the extraordinary expences of the land forces, and other services, incurred from the twenty-fourth day of November in the present year to the twenty-fourth of December following, and not provided for, they granted the sum of four hundred twenty thousand one hundred and twenty pounds, one shilling. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of this present year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, they assigned the sum of seventy-five thousand one hundred and seventy pounds, three pence farthing. For printing the Journals of the House of Commons they gave five thousand pounds; and six hundred thirty four pounds, thirteen shillings, and seven pence, as interest, at the rate of four per centum per annum, from the twenty-fifth day of August in the present year, to the same day of April next, for the sum of twenty-

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three thousand eight hundred pounds, eleven shillings, and eleven pence, remaining in the Office of Ordnance, and not paid into the hands of the deputy of the King's Remembrancer of the Court of Exchequer, as directed by an act made in the last session of Parliament, to make compensation for lands and hereditaments purchased for his Majesty's service at Chatham, Portsmouth, and Plymouth, by reason of doubts and difficulties which had arrisen touching the execution of the said act. For defraying the extraordinary charge of the Mint, during the present year, they allowed eleven thousand nine hundred and forty pounds, thirteen shillings, and ten pence; and two thousand five hundred pounds upon account, for paying the debts claimed and sustained upon a forfeited estate in North-Britain. They likewise allowed twelve thousand eight hundred and seventy-four pounds, fifteen shillings, and ten pence, for defraying the charge of a regiment of light-dragoons, and of an additional company to the corps commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Vaughan. Finally, they voted one million upon account, to enable the King to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to defeat any enterprize or design of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs might require. On the whole, the sum total granted in this session of Parliament amounted to fifteen million five hundred three thousand five hundred and sixty-three pounds, fifteen shillings, and nine pence halfpenny; a sum so enormous, whether we consider the nation that

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raised it, or the purposes for which it was raised, that every Briton of a sedate mind, attached to the interest and welfare of his country, must reflect upon it with equal astonishment and concern: a sum considerably more than double the largest subsidy that was granted in the reign of Queen Anne, when the nation was in the zenith of her glory, and retained half the powers of Europe in her pay: a sum almost double of what any former administration durst have asked; and near double of what the most sanguine calculators, who lived in the beginning of this century, thought the nation could give without the most imminent hazard of immediate bankruptcy. Of the immense supply which we have particularized, the reader will perceive that two millions three hundred forty-four thousand four hundred and eighty-six pounds, sixteen shillings, and seven pence three farthings, were paid to foreigners for supporting the war in Germany, exclusive of the money expended by the British troops in that country, the number of which amounted, in the course of the ensuing year, to twenty thousand men: a number the more extraordinary, if we consider they were all transported to that continent during the administration of those who declared in Parliament (the words still sounding in our ears) that not a man, nor even half a man, should be sent from Great-Britain to Germany, to fight the battles of any foreign elector. Into the expence of the German war sustained by Great-Britain, we must also throw the charge of transporting the English troops; the article of forage, which alone amounted, in the course of the last campaign, to one million two hundred thousand

sand pounds, besides pontage, waggons, horses, and many other contingencies. To the German war we may also impute the extraordinary expence incurred by the actual service of the militia, which the absence of the regular troops rendered in a great measure necessary; and the loss of so many hands withdrawn from industry, from husbandry, and manufacture. The loss sustained by this connection was equally grievous and apparent; the advantage accruing from it, either to Britain or Hanover, we have not discernment sufficient to perceive, consequently cannot be supposed able to explain.

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§ XLVI. The committee of ways and means, having duly deliberated on the articles of supply, continued sitting from the twenty-second day of November to the fourteenth of May, during which period they established the necessary funds to produce the sums which had been granted. The land-tax at four-shillings in the pound, and the malt-tax, were continued, as the standing revenue of Great-Britain. The whole provision made by the committee of ways and means amounted to sixteen millions one hundred thirty thousand five hundred and sixty one pounds, nine shillings, and eight pence, exceeding the grants for the service of the year, one thousand seven hundred and sixty, in the sum of six hundred twenty-six thousand nine hundred ninety-seven pounds, thirteen shillings, and ten-pence halfpenny. This excess, however, will not appear extraordinary, when we consider that it was destined to make good the premium of two hundred and forty thousand pounds to the subscribers upon the eight million

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lion loan, as well as the deficiencies in the other grants, which never fail to make a considerable article in the supply of every session. That these gigantic strides towards the ruin of publick credit were such as might alarm every well-wisher to his country, will perhaps more plainly appear in the sum total of the national debt, which, including the incumbrance of one million charged upon the civil list revenue, and provided for by a tax upon salaries and pensions payable out of that revenue, amounted, at this period, to the tremendous sum of one hundred eight millions four hundred ninety-three thousand one hundred fifty-four pounds, fourteen shillings, and eleven pence one farthing. A comfortable reflection this to a people involved in the most expensive war that ever was waged, and already burthened with such taxes as no other nation ever bore?

§ XLVII. It is not at all necessary to particularize the acts that were founded upon the resolutions touching the supply. We shall only observe that, in the act for the land-tax, and in the act for the malt-tax, there was a clause of credit, empowering the Commissioners of the Treasury to raise the money which they produced by loans on Exchequer-bills, bearing an interest of four per cent. per annum, that is, one per cent. higher than the interest usually granted in time of peace. While the House of Commons deliberated on the bill for granting to his Majesty several duties upon malt, and for raising a certain sum of money to be charged on the said duties, a petition was presented by the malsters of Ipswich and parts adjacent against an additional duty on the stock of malt

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in hand: but no regard was paid to this remonstrance; and the bill, with several new amendments, passed through both Houses, under the title of "An Act for granting to his Majesty several duties upon malt, and for raising the sum of eight millions by way of annuities and a lottery, to be charged on the said duties; and to prevent the fraudulent obtaining of allowances in the gauging of corn making into malt; and for making forth duplicates of Exchequer-bills, tickets, certificates, receipts, annuity-orders, and other orders lost, burned, or otherwise destroyed." The other three bills that turned wholly on the supply were passed in common course, without the least opposition in either House: and received the royal assent by commission at the end of the session. The first of these, intitled, "A bill for enabling his Majesty to raise a certain sum of money for the uses and purposes therein mentioned," contained a clause of approbation, added to it by instruction; and the Bank was enabled to lend the million which the commissioners of the Treasury were empowered by the act to borrow, at the interest of four pounds per cent. The second, granting to his Majesty a certain sum of money out of the sinking fund, for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty, comprehended a clause of credit for borrowing the money thereby granted; and another clause, empowering the Bank to lend it without any limitation of interest; and the third, enabling his Majesty to raise a certain sum of money towards discharging the debt of the navy, and for naval services during the ensuing year, enacted, that the Exchequer-bills thereby to be issued should

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not be received, or pass to any receiver or collector of the publick revenue, or at the receipt of the Exchequer, before the twenty-sixth day of March in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one.

§ XLVIII. As the act of the preceding session, prohibiting the malt-distillery, was to expire at Christmas, the Commons, thinking it necessary to consider of proper methods for laying the malt-distillery under such regulations as might prevent, if possible, its being prejudicial to the health and morals of the people, began as early as the month of November to deliberate on this affair; which being under agitation, petitions were presented to the House by several of the principal inhabitants of Spitalfields; the mayor and commonalty of New Sarum; the gentlemen, clergy, merchants, manufacturers, tradesmen, and other inhabitants of Colchester; the mayor, aldermen, and common council of King's Lynn in Norfolk; the mayor, and bailiffs of Berwick-upon-Tweed; representing the advantages accruing from the prohibition of the malt distillery, and praying the continuance of the act by which it was prohibited. On the other hand, counter-petitions were offered by the mayor, magistrates, merchants, manufacturers, and other gentlemen of the city of Norwich; by the land-owners and holders of the south-west part of Essex; and by the freeholders of the shires of Ross and Cromartie, in North-Britain: alledging, that the scarcity of corn, which had made it necessary to prohibit the malt-distillery, had ceased; and that the continuing the prohibition beyond the necessity which had required it, would be a great loss and discouragement

discouragement to the landed interest; they there- CHAP. XII.
fore prayed that the said distillery might be again opened, under such regulations and restrictions as 1759.
the House should think proper. These remonstrances being taken into consideration, and divers accounts perused, the House unanimously agreed that the prohibition should be continued for a limited time; and a bill being brought in, pursuant to this resolution, passed through both houses, and received the royal assent; by which means the prohibition of the malt-distillery was continued till the twenty-fourth-day of December in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty, unless such continuation should be abridged by any other act to be passed in the present session.

§. XLIX. The committee, having examined a great number of accounts and papers relating to spirituous liquors, agreed to four resolutions, importing, that the present high price of spirituous liquors is a principal cause of the diminution in the home consumption thereof, and hath greatly contributed to the health, sobriety, and industry of the common people; that, in order to continue for the future the present high price of all spirits used for home consumption, a large additional duty should be laid upon all spirituous liquors whatsoever distilled within or imported into Great-Britain; that there should be a drawback of the said additional duties upon all spirituous liquors distilled in Great-Britain, which should be exported; and that an additional bounty should be granted, under proper regulations, upon the exportation of all spirituous liquors drawn from corn in Great-Britain. A great many accounts being perused,

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and witnesses examined relating to the distillery, a bill was brought in, to prevent the excessive use of spirituous liquors, by laying an additional duty thereupon; and to encourage the exportation of British made spirits. Considerable opposition was made to the bill, on the opinion that the additional duty proposed was too small; and that, among the resolutions, there was not so much as one that looked like a provision or restriction for preventing the pernicious abuse of such liquors. Nay, many persons affirmed, that what was proposed looked more like a scheme for increasing the publick revenues, than a salutary measure to prevent excess. The merchants and manufacturers of the town of Birmingham petitioned for such restrictions. The lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London presented a petition by the hands of the two sheriffs, setting forth, that the petitioners had, with great pleasure, observed the happy consequences produced upon the morals, behaviour, industry, and health of the lower class of people, since the prohibition of the malt-distillery: that the petitioners, having observed a bill was brought in to allow the distilling of spirits from corn, were apprehensive that the encouragement given to the distillers thereof would prove detrimental to the commercial interests of the nation; and they conceived the advantages proposed to be allowed upon the exportation of such spirits, being so much above the value of their commodity, would lay such a temptation for smuggling and perjury as no law could prevent. They expressed their fears, that, should such a bill pass into a law, the excessive use of spirituous liquors would not only debilitate

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and enervate the labourers, manufacturers, sailors, soldiers, and all the lower class of people, and thereby extinguish industry, and that remarkable intrepidity which had lately so eminently appeared in the British nation, which must always depend on the vigour and industry of its people; but also its liberty and happiness, which cannot be supported without temperance and morality, would run the utmost risk of being destroyed. They declared themselves also apprehensive, that the extraordinary consumption of bread corn by the still would not only raise the price, so as to oppress the lower class of people, but would raise such a bar to the exportation thereof, as to deprive the nation of a great influx of money, at that time essential towards the maintaining of an expensive war, and therefore highly injure the landed and commercial interest: they therefore prayed that the present prohibition of distilling spirits from corn might be continued, or that the use of wheat might not be allowed in distillation. This remonstrance was corroborated by another to the same purpose, from several merchants, manufacturers, and traders residing in and near the city of London; and seemed to have some weight with the Commons, who made several amendments in the bill, which they now intituled, "A bill for preventing the excessive use of spirituous liquors, by laying additional duties thereon; for shortening the prohibition for making low wines and spirits from wheat; for encouraging the exportation of British made spirits, and preventing the fraudulent relanding or importation thereof." Thus altered and amended, it passed on a division; and, making its way through

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the House of Lords, acquired the royal sanction. Whether the law be adequate to the purposes for which it was enacted, time will determine. The best way of preventing the excess of spirituous liquors would be to lower the excise on beer and ale, so as to enable the poorer class of labourers to refresh themselves with a comfortable liquor for nearly the same expence that will procure a quantity of Geneva sufficient for intoxication; for it cannot be supposed that a poor wretch will expend his last penny upon a draft of small beer, without strength or the least satisfactory operation, when for the half of that sum he can purchase a cordial, that will almost instantaneously allay the sense of hunger and cold, and regale his imagination with the most agreeable illusions. Malt was at this time sold cheaper than it was in the first year of King James I. when the Parliament enacted, that no inn-keeper, victualler, or alehouse-keeper, should sell less than a full quart of the best ale or beer, or two quarts of the small, for one penny, under the penalty of twenty shillings. It appears, then, that in the reign of King James the subject paid but four pence for a gallon of strong beer, which now costs one shilling; and, as the malt is not increased in value, the difference in the price must be entirely owing to the taxes on beer, malt, and hops, which are indeed very grievous, though perhaps necessary. The duty on small beer is certainly one of the heaviest taxes imposed upon any sort of consumption that cannot be considered as an article of luxury. Two bushels of malt, and two pounds of hops, are required to make a barrel of good small beer, which was formerly sold for six shillings;

lings; and the taxes payable on such a barrel amounted to three shillings and sixpence; so that the sum total of the imposition on this commodity was equal to a land-tax of eleven shillings and eight pence in the pound. CHAP. XII. 1759.

§ L. Immediately after the resolution relating to the prohibition of spirits from wheat, a motion was made, and leave given, to bring in a bill to continue, for a limited time, the act of the last session, permitting the importation of salted beef from Ireland. This permission was accordingly extended to the twenty-fourth day of December in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one. In all probability this short and temporary continuance was proposed by the favourers of the bill, in order to avoid the clamour and opposition of prejudice and ignorance, which would have been dangerously alarmed, had it been rendered perpetual. Yet as undoubted evidence had proved before the committee, while the bill was depending, that the importation had been of great service to England, particularly in reducing the price of salted beef for the use of the navy, perhaps no consideration ought to have prevented the legislature from perpetuating the law; a measure that would encourage the graziers of Ireland to breed and fatten horned cattle, and certainly put a stop to the practice of exporting salted beef from that kingdom to France, which undoubtedly furnishes the traders of that kingdom with opportunities of exporting wool to the same country.

§ LI. As several lieutenants of counties had, for various reasons, suspended all proceedings in the execution of the laws relating to the militia

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for limited times, which suspensions were deemed inconsistent with the intent of the legislature, a bill was now brought in, to enable his Majesty's lieutenants of the several counties of England and Wales to proceed in the execution of the militia laws, notwithstanding any adjournments. It was enacted, that, as the speedy execution of the laws for regulating the militia was most essentially necessary at this juncture to the peace and security of the kingdom, every lieutenant of the place where such suspension had happened should, within one month after the passing of this act, proceed as if there had been no such suspension; and summon a meeting for the same purpose once in every succeeding month until a sufficient number of officers, qualified and willing to serve, should be found, or until the expiration of the act for the better ordering the militia forces. The establishment of a regular militia in South-Britain could not fail to make an impression upon the patriots of Scotland. They were convinced, from reason and experience, that nothing could more tend to the peace and security of their country than such an establishment in North-Britain, the inhabitants of which had been peculiarly exposed to insurrections, which a well-regulated militia might have prevented, or stifled in the birth; and their coast had been lately alarmed by a threatened invasion, which nothing but the want of such an establishment had rendered formidable to the natives. They thought themselves entitled to the same security which the legislature had provided for their fellow-subjects in South-Britain, and could not help being uneasy at the prospect of seeing themselves

selves left unarmed, and exposed to injuries both foreign and domestick, while the sword was put in the hands of their southern neighbours. Some of the members who represented North-Britain in Parliament moved by these considerations, as well as by the earnest injunctions of their constituents, resolved to make a vigorous effort, in order to obtain the establishment of a regular militia in Scotland. In the beginning of March it was moved and resolved, that the House would, on the twelfth day of the month, resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the laws in being which relate to the militia in that part of Great-Britain called Scotland. The result of that enquiry was that these laws were ineffectual. Then a motion was made for leave to bring in a bill for the better ordering of the militia forces in North-Britain, and though it met with great opposition, was carried by a large majority. The principal Scottish members of the House were appointed, in conjunction with others, to prepare the bill which was soon printed, and reinforced by petitions presented by the gentlemen, justices of the peace, and commissioners of the supply for the shire of Ayr; and by the freeholders of the shires of Edinburgh, Stirling, Perth, and Forfar. They expressed their approbation of the established militia in England, and their ardent wish to see the benefit of that wise and salutary measure extended to North-Britain. This was an indulgence they had the greater reason to hope for, as by the articles of the Union they were undoubtedly entitled to be on the same footing with their brethren of England; and as the legislature must now be convinced of the necessity of

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some such measures, by the consternation lately produced in their defenceless country, from the threatened invasion of a handful of French free-booters. These remonstrances had no weight with the majority in the House of Commons, who, either unable or unwilling to make proper distinctions between the ill and well affected subjects of North-Britain, rejected the bill, as a very dangerous experiment in favour of a people among whom so many rebellions had been generated and produced. When the motion was made for the bill's being committed, a warm debate ensued, in the course of which many Scottish members spoke in behalf of their country with great force of argument, and a very laudable spirit of freedom. Mr. Elliot, in particular, one of the Commissioners of the Board of Admiralty, distinguished himself by a noble flow of eloquence, adorned with all the graces of oratory, and warmed with the true spirit of patriotism. Mr. Oswald, of the Treasury, acquitted himself with great honour on the occasion; ever nervous, steady, and sagacious, independent though in office, and invariable in pursuing the interest of his country. It must be owned, for the honour of North-Britain, that all her representatives, except two, warmly contended for this national measure, which was carried in the negative by a majority of one hundred and six, though the bill was exactly modelled by the late act of Parliament for the establishment of the militia in England.

§ LII. Even this institution, though certainly laudable and necessary, was attended with so many unforeseen difficulties that every session of Parliament

ment since it was first established has produced new acts for its better regulation. In April, leave was given to prepare a bill for limiting, confining, and better regulating the payment of the weekly allowances made by act of Parliament, for the maintenance of families unable to support themselves during the absence of militia-men embodied, and ordered out into actual service; as well as for amending and improving the establishment of the militia, and lessening the number of officers entitled to pay within that part of Great-Britain called England. While this bill was under consideration, the House received a petition from the mayor, aldermen, town-clerk, sheriffs, gentlemen, merchants, clergy, tradesmen, and others, inhabitants of the ancient city of Lincoln, representing, That by an act passed relating to the militia it was provided, that when any militia-men should be ordered out into actual service, leaving families unable to support themselves during their absence, the overseers of the Parish where such families reside, should allow them such weekly support as should be prescribed by any one justice of the peace, which allowance should be reimbursed out of the county stock. They alleged, that a considerable number of men, inhabitants of the said city, had entered themselves to serve in the militia of the county of Lincoln, as volunteers, for several parishes and persons; yet their families were, nevertheless, supported by the county stock of the city and county of the city of Lincoln. They took notice of the bill under deliberation, and prayed that if it should pass into a law, they might have such relief in the premises, as to the House should

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seem meet. Regard was had to this petition in the amendments to the bill*, which passed through both Houses and received the Royal assent by commission. During the dependance of this bill another was brought in, to explain so much of the militia-act passed in the thirty-first year of his Majesty's reign, as related to the money to be given to private militia-men, upon their being ordered out into actual service. By this law it was enacted, that the guinea, which by the former act was due to every private man of every regiment or company of militia, when ordered out into actual service, should be paid to every man that shall

* By this law it was enacted, that if any militia-man who shall have been accepted and enrolled as substitute, hired man, or volunteer, before the passing of the act, or who shall have been chosen by lot, whether before or after the passing of the act, shall, when embodied, or called out into actual service, and ordered to march, leave a family unable to support themselves, the overseers shall, by order of some one justice of the peace, pay out of the poors' rates of such parish, a weekly allowance to such family, according to the usual and ordinary price of labour and husbandry there; viz. for one child under the age of ten years, the price of one day's labour; for two children under the age aforesaid, the price of two days' labour; for three or four children under the age aforesaid, the price of three days' labour; for five or more children under the age aforesaid, the price of four days' labour; and for the wife of such militia-man, the price of one day's labour; but that the families of such men only as shall be chosen by lot, and of the substitutes, hired men and volunteers already accepted and enrolled, shall, after the passing of this act, receive any such weekly allowance. For removing the grievance complained of in the above petition, it is enacted, that where treasurers shall reimburse to overseers any money, in pursuance of this act, on account of the weekly allowance to the family of any militia-man serving in the militia of any county or place other than that wherein such family shall dwell, they are to transmit an account thereof, signed by some justice for the place where such family shall dwell, to the treasurer of the county, &c. in the militia whereof such militia-man shall serve, who is thereupon to pay him the sum so reimbursed to such overseers, and the same to be allowed in his accounts.

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afterwards be enrolled into such regiment or company whilst in actual service; that no man should be entitled to his clothes for his own use, until he shoulds have served three years, if unembodied, or one year, if embodied, after the delivery of the clothes; and that the full pay of the militia should commence from the date of his Majesty's warrant for drawing them out. The difficulties which these successive regulations were made to obviate will be amply recompensed by the good effects of a national militia, provided it be employed in a national way, and for national purposes: but if the militia are embodied, and the different regiments that compose it are marched from the respective counties to which they belong; if the men are detained for any length of time in actual service, at a distance from their families, when they might be employed at home in works of industry, for the support of their natural dependants; the militia becomes no other than an addition to, or augmentation of, a standing army, enlisted for the term of three years. The labour of the men is lost to the community; they contract the idle habits and dissolute manners of the other troops; their families are left as incumbrances on the community: and the charge of their subsistence is at least as heavy as that of maintaining an equal number of regular forces. It would not, we apprehend, be very easy to account for the Government's ordering the regiments of militia to march from their respective counties, and to do duty for a considerable length of time at a great distance from their own homes, unless we suppose this measure was taken to create in the people a disgust to the institution

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tution of the militia, which was an establishment extorted from the Secretary by the voice of the nation. We may add, that some of the inconveniences attending a militia will never be totally removed, while the persons drawn by lot for that service are at liberty to hire substitutes; for it cannot be supposed that men of substance will incur the danger, fatigue, and damage of service in person, while they can hire among the lowest class of people mercenaries of desperate fortune and abandoned morals, who will greedily seize the opportunity of being paid for renouncing that labour by which they were before obliged to maintain themselves and their family connection: it would, therefore, deserve the consideration of the legislature, whether the privilege of hiring substitutes should not be limited to certain classes of men, who are either raised by their rank in life above the necessity of serving in person, or engaged in such occupations as cannot be intermitted without prejudice to the commonwealth. It must be allowed, that the regulation in this new act, by which the families of substitutes are deprived of any relief from the parish, will not only diminish the burthen of the poor's rates; but also, by raising the price of mercenaries, oblige a greater number of the better sort to serve in person.

Without all doubt, the fewer substitutes that are employed, the more dependence may be placed upon the militia in the preservation of our rights and privileges, and the more will the number of the disciplined men be increased: because at the expiration of every three years the lot-men must be changed, and new militia-men chosen; but the substitutes

substitutes will, in all probability, continue for life in the service, provided they can find lot-men to hire them at every rotation. The reader will forgive our being so circumstantial upon the regulations of an institution, which we cannot help regarding with a kind of enthusiastick affection. CHAP. XII. 1759.

§ LIII. In the latter end of November, the House of Commons received a petition from several noblemen, gentlemen, and others, inhabitants of East Greenwich, and places adjacent, in Kent, representing, that in the said parish within a quarter of a mile of the town distinguished by a royal palace, and royal hospital for seamen, there was a magazine, containing great quantities of gunpowder, frequently to the amount of six thousand barrels: that besides the great danger which must attend all places of that kind, the said magazine stood in an open field, uninclosed by any fortification or defence whatsoever, consequently exposed to treachery and every other accident. They alleged, that if, through treachery, lightning, or any other accident, this magazine should take fire, not only their lives and properties, but the palace and hospital, the King's yards and stores at Deptford and Woolwich, the banks and navigation of the Thames, with the ships sailing and at anchor in that river, would be inevitably destroyed, and inconceivable damage would accrue to the cities of London and Westminster. They, moreover, observed that the magazine was then in a dangerous condition, supported on all sides by props that were decayed at the foundation; that in case it should fall, the powder would, in all probability, take fire, and produce the dreadful calamities

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calamities above recited: they therefore prayed that the magazine might be removed to some more convenient place, where any accident would not be attended with such dismal consequences. The subject of this remonstrance was so pressing and important, that a committee was immediately appointed to take the affair into consideration, and procure an estimate for purchasing lands, and erecting a powder-magazine, at Purfleet, in Essex, near the banks of the river, together with a guard-house, barracks, and all other necessary conveniences. While the report of the committee lay upon the table for the persual of the members, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, by his Majesty's command, acquainted the House, that the King, having been informed of the subject matter of the petition, recommended it to the consideration of the Commons. Leave was immediately given to prepare a bill, founded on the resolutions of the committee; which, having been duly considered, altered, and amended, passed through both Houses to the foot of the throne, where it obtained the royal sanction. The magazine was accordingly removed to Purfleet, an inconsiderable and solitary village, where there will be little danger of accident, and where no great damage would attend an explosion: but, in order to render this possible explosion still less dangerous, it would be necessary to form the magazine of small distinct apartments, totally independent of each other; that in case one should be accidentally blown up, the rest might stand unaffected. The same plan ought to be adopted in the construction of all combustible stores subject to conflagration. The marine

marine bill, and mutiny bill, as annual regulations, were prepared in the usual form, passed both Houses without opposition, and received the royal assent. CHAP. XII. 1759.

§ LIV. The next affair that engrossed the deliberation of the Commons, was a measure relating to the internal œconomy of the metropolis. The sheriffs of London delivered a petition from the lord-mayor, aldermen, and Commons, in common-council assembled, representing that several streets, lanes, and passages within the city of London, and liberties thereof, were too narrow and incommodious for the passing and repassing as well of foot-passengers as of coaches, carts, and other carriages, to the prejudice and inconvenience of the owners and inhabitants of houses, and to the great hindrance of business, trade, and commerce. They alleged that these defects might be remedied, and several new streets opened within the said city and liberties, to the great ease, safety, and convenience of passengers, as well as to the advantage of the public in general, if they, the petitioners, were enabled to widen and enlarge the narrow streets, lanes, and passages, to open and lay out such new streets and ways, and to purchase the several houses, buildings, and grounds which might be necessary for these purposes. They took notice that there were several houses within the city and liberties, partly erected over the ground of other proprietors; and others, of which the several floors or apartments belonged to different persons; so that difficulties and disputes frequently arose amongst the said several owners and proprietors, about pulling down or rebuild-

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ing the party-walls and premises; that such rebuilding was often prevented or delayed, to the great injury and inconvenience of those owners who were desirous to rebuild; that it would therefore be of publick benefit, and frequently prevent the spreading of the fatal effects of fire, if some provision were made by law, as well for determining such disputes in a summary way, as for explaining and amending the laws then in being relating to the building of party-walls. They therefore prayed that leave might be given to bring in a bill for enabling the petitioners to widen and enlarge the several streets, lanes, and passages, and to open new streets and ways to be therein limited and prescribed; as well as for determining, in a summary way, all disputes arising about the rebuilding of houses or tenements within the said city and liberties, wherein several persons have an intermixed property; and for explaining and amending the laws in being relating to these particulars. A committee being appointed to examine the matter of this petition, agreed to a report, upon which leave was given to prepare a bill, and this was brought in accordingly. Next day a great number of citizens represented, in another petition, that the pavement of the city and liberties was often damaged, by being broken up for the purposes of amending or new laying water-pipes belonging to the proprietors of water-works; and praying that provision might be made in the bill then depending, to compel those proprietors to make good any damage that might be done to the pavement by the leaking or bursting of the water-pipes, or opening the pavement for alterations.

tions. In consequence of this representation, some amendments were made in the bill, which passed through both Houses, and was enacted into a law, under the title of "An act for widening "certain streets, lanes, and passages, within the "city of London, and liberties thereof; and for "opening certain new streets and ways within "the same, and for other purposes therein men-"tioned*."

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§ LV. The inhabitants of Westminster had long laboured under the want of a fish-market, and complained that the price of this species of provision was kept up at an exorbitant rate by the fraudulent combination of a few dealers, who engrossed the whole market at Billingsgate, and de-

* The openings to be made, and the passages to be improved and enlarged, were ascertained by two schedules annexed to the act. With respect to the houses, buildings, and grounds to be purchased, the mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city, in common-council assembled, or a committee appointed by them, were empowered to fix the price by agreement with the respective proprietors, or otherwise by a jury in the usual manner. With regard to party-walls, the act ordains, that the proprietor of either adjoining house may compel the proprietor of the other to agree to its being pulled down and rebuilt, and to pay a moiety of the expence even though it should not be necessary to pull down or rebuild either of their houses; that all party-walls shall be at least two bricks and a half in thickness in the cellar, and two bricks thick upwards to the top of the garret-floor. It enacts, that if any decayed house belongs to several proprietors, any one of them, who is desirous to rebuild, may oblige the others to concur, and join with him in the expence, or purchase their shares at a price to be fixed by a jury. If any house should hereafter be presented by any inquest, or grand jury, in London, as being in a ruinous condition, the court of mayor and aldermen is, by this act, empowered to pull it down at the expence of the ground-landlord. As to damaged pavements, not sufficiently repaired by the proprietors of the water-works, any justice of the peace in London is vested with power upon their refusing or delaying to make it good, to cause it to be effectually relayed with good materials at their expence.

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stroyed great quantities of fish, in order to enhance the value of those that remained. An act of Parliament had passed in the twenty-second year of his present Majesty's reign, for establishing a free market for the sale of fish in Westminster; and, seven years after that period, it was found necessary to procure a second, for explaining and amending the first: but neither effectually answered the purposes of the legislature: In the month of January, of the present session, the House took into consideration a petition of the several fishermen trading to Billingsgate-market, representing the hardships to which they were exposed by the said acts; particularly forfeitures of vessels and cargoes, incurred by the negligence of servants who had omitted to make the particular entries which the two acts prescribed. This petition being examined by a committee, and the report being made, leave was given to bring in a new bill, which should contain effectual provision for the better supplying the cities of London and Westminster with fish, and for preventing the abuses of the fishmongers. It was entitled, "A bill to repeal so much of an act passed in the twenty-ninth of George II. concerning a free market for fish at Westminster, as requires fishermen to enter their fishing vessels at the office of the searcher of the customs at Gravesend, and to regulate the sale of fish at the first hand in the fish-markets in London and Westminster; and to prevent salesmen of fish buying fish to sell again on their own account; and to allow bret and turbot, brill and pearl, although under the respective dimensions mentioned in a former act, to be imported and sold;

sold; and to punish persons who shall take or sell any spawn, brood, or fry of fish, unsizeable fish, or fish out of season, or smelts under the size of five inches, and for other purposes." Though this and the former bill relating to the streets and houses of London, are instances that evince the care and attention of the legislature, even to minute particulars of the internal œconomy of the kingdom, we can hardly consider them as objects of such dignity and importance as to demand the deliberations of the Parliament, but think they naturally fall within the cognizance of the municipal magistracy. After all, perhaps the most effectual method for supplying Westminster with plenty of fish, at reasonable rates, would be to execute with rigour the laws already enacted against forestalling and regrating, an expedient that would soon dissolve all monopolies and combinations among the traders; to increase the number of markets in London and Westminster; and to establish two general markets at the Nore, one on each side of the river, where the fishing vessels might unload their cargoes, and return to sea without delay. A number of light boats might be employed to convey fresh fish from these marts to London and Westminster, where all the different fish markets might be plentifully supplied at a reasonable expence; for it cannot be supposed that, while the fresh fish are brought up the river in the fishing smacks themselves, which can hardly save the tides, to Billingsgate, they will ever dream of carrying their cargoes above bridge; or that the price of fish can be considerably lowered, while the fishing vessels lose so much time in running up to Gravesend or Billingsgate.

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§ LVI. The annual committee being appointed to enquire what laws were expired, or near expiring, agreed to certain resolutions; upon which a bill was prepared, and obtained the royal assent, importing a continuation of several laws, namely, the several clauses mentioned of the acts in the fifth and eighth of George I. against the clandestine running of uncustomed goods, except the clauses relating to quarantine; the act passed in the third of George II. relating to the carrying rice from Carolina; the act of the seventh of the same reign, relating to cochineal and indigo; and that of the twelfth George II. so far as it related to the importation of printed books. There was also a law enacted, to continue to the twenty-ninth day of September in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, an act passed in the twelfth year of Queen Anne, for encouraging the making of sail-cloth, by a duty of one penny per ell laid upon all foreign-made sail, and sail-cloth imported, and a bounty in the same proportion granted upon all home-made sail-cloth, and canvass fit for or made into sails, and exported; another act was passed, for continuing certain laws relating to the additional number of one hundred hackney coaches and chairs, which law was rendered perpetual. The next law we shall mention was intended to be one of the most important that ever fell under the cognizance of the legislature: it was a law that affected the freedom, dignity, and independency of Parliaments: By an act passed in the ninth year of the reign of Queen Anne, it was provided that no person should be chosen a member of Parliament who did not

possess

possess in England or Wales an estate, freehold or copyhold, for life, according to the following qualifications: for every knight of a shire six hundred pounds per annum, over and above what will satisfy all incumbrances: and three hundred pounds, per annum, for every citizen, burgess, and baron of the cinque ports. It was also decreed, that the return of any person not thus qualified should be void; and that every candidate should, at the reasonable request of any other candidate at the time of election, or of two or more persons who had a right to vote, take an oath prescribed to establish his qualifications. This restraint was by no means effectual. So many oaths of different kinds had been prescribed since the Revolution, that they began to lose the effect they were intended to have on the minds of men; and in particular, political perjury grew so common, that it was no longer considered as a crime. Subterfuges were discovered, by means of which this law relating to the qualification of candidates was effectually eluded. Those who were not actually possessed of such estates procured temporary conveyances from their friends and patrons, on condition of their being restored and cancelled after the election. By this scandalous fraud the intention of the legislature was frustrated, the dignity of Parliament prostituted, the example of perjury and corruption extended, and the vengeance of Heaven set at defiance. Through this infamous channel the ministry had it in their power to thrust into Parliament a set of venal beggars, who, as they depended upon their bounty, would always be obsequious to their will, and vote according to direction,

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direction, without the least regard to the dictates of conscience, or to the advantage of their country. The mischiefs attending such a vile collusion, and in particular the undue influence which the crown must have acquired from the practice, were either felt or apprehended by some honest patriots, who, after divers unsuccesful efforts, at length presented to the House a bill, importing that every person who shall be elected a member of the House of Commons, should, before he presumed to take his seat, deliver to the clerk of the Houses at the table, while the Commons are sitting, and the Speaker in the chair, a paper or schedule, signed by himself, containing a rental or particular of the lands, tenements, or hereditaments, whereby he makes out his qualification, specifying the nature of his estate, whether messuage, land, rent, tythe, or what else; and if such estate consists of messuages, lands, or tythes, then specifying in whose occupation they are; and if in rent, then specifying the names of the owners or possessors of the lands and tenements out of which such rent is issuing, and also specifying the parish, township, or precinct and county, in which the said estate lies, and the value thereof; and every such person shall, at the same time, also take and subscribe the following oath, to be fairly written at the bottom of the paper or schedule: "I, A. B. do swear that "the above is a true rental; and that I truly "and *bonâ fide*, have such an estate in law or equity, to and for my own use and benefit, of and in "the lands, tenements, or hereditaments, above "described, over and above what will satisfy and "clear all incumbrances that may affect the same;

and

"and that such estates hath not been granted or "made over to me fraudulently, on purpose to "qualify me to be a member of this House. So "help me God!" It was provided that the said paper or schedule, with the oath aforesaid, should be carefully kept by the clerk, to be inspected by the members of the House of Commons, without fee or reward; that if any person, elected to serve in any future Parliament, should presume to sit or vote as a member of the House of Commons before he had delivered in such a paper or schedule, and taken the oath aforesaid, or should not be qualified according to the true intent or meaning of this act, his election should be void; and every person so sitting and voting should forfeit a certain sum to be recovered by such persons as should sue for the same by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, whereon no essoign, privilege, protection, or wager of law should be allowed, and only one imparlance: that if any person should have delivered in, and sworn to, his qualification as aforesaid, and taken his seat in the House of Commons, yet at any time after should, during the continuance of such Parliament, sell, dispose of, alien, or any otherwise incumber the estate, or any part thereof comprised in the schedule, so as to lessen, or reduce the same under the value of the qualification by law directed, every such person, under a certain penalty, must deliver in a new or further qualification, according to the true intent and meaning of this act, and swear to the same, in manner before directed, before he shall again presume to sit or vote as a member of the House of Commons; that in case any action, suit,

or

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or information should be brought, in pursuance of this act, against any member of the House of Commons, the clerk of the House shall, upon demand, forthwith deliver a true and attested copy of the paper or schedule so delivered in to him as aforesaid by such members to the plaintiff or prosecutor, or his attorney or agent, paying a certain sum for the same; which, being proved a true copy, shall be admitted to be given in evidence upon the trial of any issue in any such action. Provided always, that nothing contained in this act shall extend to the eldest son or heir apparent of any Peer or Lord of Parliament, or of any person qualified to serve as knight of the shire, or to the members for either of the universities in that part of Great-Britain called England, or to the members for that part of Great-Britain called Scotland. Such was the substance of the bill, as originally presented to the House of Commons; but it was altered in such a manner as we are afraid will fail in answering the salutary purposes for which it was intended by those who brought it into the House. Notwithstanding the provisions made in the act as it now stands, any minister or patron may still introduce his pensioners, clerks, and creatures into the House, by means of the old method of temporary conveyance, though the farce must now be kept up until the member shall have delivered in his schedule, taken his oath, and his seat in Parliament, then he may deliver up the conveyance, or execute a re-conveyance, without running any risk of losing his seat, or of being punished for his fraud and perjury. The extensive influence of the crown, the general corruptibility

of

of individuals, and the obstacles so industriously thrown in the way of every scheme contrived to vindicate the independency of Parliaments, must have produced very mortifying reflections in the breast of every Briton warmed with the genuine love of his country. He must have perceived that all the bulwarks of the constitution were little better than buttresses of ice, which would infallibly thaw before the heat of ministerial influence, when artfully concentrated; that either a minister's professions of patriotism were insincere, or his credit insufficient to effect any essential alteration in the unpopular measures of government; and that after all, the liberties of the nation could never be so firmly established, as by the power, generosity, and virtue of a patriot King. This inference could not fail to awake the remembrance of that amiable Prince, whom fate untimely snatched from the eager hopes and warm affection of a whole nation, before he had it in his power to manifest and establish his favourite maxim, "That a monarch's glory was inseparably connected with the happiness of his people*."

§ LVII.

* The following declaration made to the chiefs of the opposition will render the memory of the late Prince of Wales dear to latest posterity.

HIS Royal Highness has authorised Lord T. and Sir F. D. to give the most positive assurances to the gentlemen in the opposition, of his upright intentions; that he is thoroughly convinced of the distresses and calamities that have befallen, and every day are more likely to befal, this country: and therefore invites all well-wishers to this country and its constitution to coalesce and unite with him, and upon the following principle only:

His Royal Highness promises, and will declare it openly, that it is his intention totally to abolish any distinctions for the future of parties; and as far as lies in his power, and as soon as it does lie in his power,

to

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An. 1760.

§ LVII. On the first day of February, a motion was made, and leave given, to bring in a bill for enabling his Majesty to makes leases and copies of offices, lands, and hereditaments, parcel of his duchy of Cornwall, or annexed to the same; accordingly it passed through both houses without opposition; and enacted that all leases and grants made, or to be made, by his Majesty, within seven years next ensuing, in or annexed to the said duchy, under the limitations therein mentioned,

to take away for ever all proscription from any set of men whatever who are friends to the constitution; and therefore will promote for the present, and when it is in his power will immediately grant,

First, a bill to empower all gentlemen to act as justices of peace paying land-tax for 300*l. per annum* in any county where he intends to serve.

Secondly, His Royal Highness promises, in like manner, to support, and forthwith grant, whenever he shall have it in his power, a bill to create and establish a numerous and effectual militia throughout the kingdom.

Thirdly, His Royal Highness promises, in like manner, to promote and support, and likewise grant when it is in his power, a bill to exclude all military officers in the land-service under the degree of colonel of regiments, and in the sea-service under the degree of rear-admirals, from sitting in the House of Commons.

Fourthly, His Royal Highness promises that he will, when in his power, grant enquiries into the great number of abuses in offices, and does not doubt the assistance of all honest men, to enable him to correct the same for the future.

Fifthly, His Royal Highness promises, and will openly declare, that he will make no agreement with, or join in the support of, any administration whatever, without previously obtaining the abovementioned points in behalf of the people, and for the sake of good government. Upon these conditions, and these conditions only, His Royal Highness thinks he has a right not to doubt of having a most cordial support from all those good men who mean their country and this constitution well, and that they will become his and his family's friends, and unite with him to promote the good government of this country; and that they will follow him, upon these principles, both in court and

tioned, should be good and effectual in law against his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, and against all other persons that should hereafter inherit the said duchy, either by an act of Parliament, or any limitation whatsoever. This act appears the more extraordinary as the Prince of Wales, who has a sort of right by prescription to the duchy of Cornwall, was then of age, and might have been put in possession of it by the passing of a patent. The House having perused an account of the produce of the fund established for paying annuities

and out of court; and if he should live to form an administration, it should be composed, without distinction, of men of dignity, knowledge, and probity. His Royal Highness further promises to accept of no more, if offered to him, than 800,000*l.* for his civil list, by way of rent charge.

Answer to the foregoing proposal.

THE lords and gentlemen to whom a paper has been communicated, containing his Royal Highness the Prince's gracious intentions upon several weighty and important points, of the greatest consequence to the honour and interest of his Majesty's government, and absolutely necessary for the restoring and perpetuating the true use and design of parliament, the purity of our excellent constitution, and the happiness and welfare of the whole nation, do therein with the greatest satisfaction observe, and most gratefully acknowledge, the uprightness and generosity of his Royal Highness's noble sentiments and resolutions. And therefore beg leave to return their most dutiful and humble thanks for the same: and to assure his Royal Highness that they will constantly and steadily use their utmost endeavours to support those his wise and salutary purposes, that the throne may be strengthened, religion and morality encouraged, faction and corruption destroyed, the purity and essence of Parliament restored, and the happiness and welfare of our constitution preserved.

When the above answer was returned to the Prince, there were present,

The Duke of B.—The Earl of L.—The Earl of S.—The Earl of T.—The Earl of W.—The Earl of S.—Lord F.—Lord W.—Sir Wat. Wil. Wynne.—Sir John H.—C.—Sir Walter B.—Sir Robert G.—Mr. F.—Mr. P.—Mr. C.

granted

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granted in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, with the charge on that fund on the fifth day of January in the succeeding year, it appeared that there had been a considerable deficiency in the said fund on the fifth day of July preceding, and this had been made good out of the sinking fund, by a resolution of the seventh of February, already particularized. They therefore instructed the committee of Ways and Means to consider so much of the annuity and lottery act passed in the preceding session as related to the three per centum annuities, amounting to the sum of seven millions five hundred and ninety thousand pounds, granted in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine: and also to consider so much of the said act as related to the subsidy of poundage upon certain goods and merchandise to be imported into this kingdom, and the additional inland duty on coffee and chocolate. The committee having taken these points into deliberation, agreed to the two resolutions we have already mentioned with respect to the consolidation; and a bill was brought in for adding those annuities granted in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine to the joint stock of three per centum annuities consolidated by the acts of the twenty-fifth, twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirty-second years of his Majesty's reign, and for several duties therein mentioned, to the sinking-fund. The committee was afterwards empowered to receive a clause for cancelling such lottery tickets as were made forth in pursuance of an act passed in the thirtieth year of his Majesty's reign, and were not then disposed of: a clause for this purpose was accordingly

cordingly added to the bill, which passed through both Houses without opposition, and received the royal assent at the end of the session. CHAP. XII. 1760.

§ LVIII. On the twenty-ninth day of April, Lord North presented to the House a bill for encouraging the exportation of rum and spirits of the growth, produce, and manufactory of the British sugar plantations, from Great-Britain, and of British spirits made from melasses; a bill which in a little time acquired the sanction of the royal assent. Towards the end of April, Admiral Townshend presented a bill for the more effectual securing the payment of such prize and bounty monies as were appropriated to the use of Greenwich Hospital by an act passed in the twenty-ninth year of his Majesty's reign. As by that law no time was limited, or particular method prescribed, for giving notifications of the day appointed for the payment of the shares of the prizes and bounty money; and many agents had neglected to specify, in the notification given in the London Gazette for payment of shares of prizes condemned in the courts of Admiralty in Great-Britain, the particular day or time when such payments were to commence, whereby it was rendered difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain the time when the Hospital at Greenwich became entitled to the unclaimed shares, of consequence could not enjoy the full benefit of the act; the bill now prepared imported, that, from and after the first day of September in the present year, all notifications of the payment of the shares of prizes taken by any of his Majesty's ships of war, and condemned in Great-Britain, and from and after the first day of February in the year one thousand seven

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seven hundred and sixty-one, all notifications of the payment of the shares and prizes taken and condemned in any other of his Majesty's dominions in Europe, or in any of the British plantations in America; and from and after the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one, all notifications of the payment of the shares of prizes taken and condemned in any other of his Majesty's dominions, shall be respectively given and published in the following manner: If the prize be condemned in any court of Admiralty in Great-Britain, such notification, under the agent's hand, shall be published in the London Gazette; and if condemned in any court of Admiralty in any other of his Majesty's dominions, such notification shall be published in like manner in the Gazette; or other news-paper of publick authority, of the island or place where the prize is condemned: and if there shall be no Gazette, or such news-paper, published there, then in some or one of the public news-papers of the place: and such agents shall deliver to the collector, customer, or searcher, or his lawful deputy, and, if there shall be no such officer, then to the principal officer or officers of the place where the prize is condemned, or to the lawful deputy of such principal officers, two of the Gazettes or other news-papers in which such notifications are inserted; and if there shall not be any publick news-papers in any such island or place, the agent shall give two such notifications in writing; under his hand: and every such collector, or other officer as aforesaid, shall subscribe his name on both the said Gazettes, news-papers, or written notifications;

tions; and, by the first ship which shall sail from thence to any port of Great-Britain, shall transmit to the treasurer or deputy treasurers of the said Royal Hospital one of the said notifications, with his name so subscribed, to be there registered; and shall faithfully preserve and keep the other, with his name thereon subscribed, in his own custody; and in every notification as aforesaid the agent shall specify his place of abode, and the precise day of the month and year appointed for the payment of the respective shares to the captors; and all notifications with respect to prizes condemned in Great-Britain shall be published in the London Gazette three days at least before any share of such prize shall be paid; and, with respect to prizes condemned in any other part of his Majesty's dominions, such notifications shall be delivered to the said collector, or other officers as aforesaid, three days at least before any share of such prizes shall be paid. It was likewise enacted, that the agents for the distribution of bounty-bills should insert, and publish under their hands, in the London Gazette, three days at least before payment, publick notifications of the day and year appointed for such payment, and also insert therein their respective places of abode. The bill, even as it now stands, is liable to several objections. It may be dangerous to leave the money of the unclaimed shares so long as three years in the hands of the agent, who, together with his securities, may prove insolvent before the expiration of that term: then the time prescribed to the sailors, within which their claim is limited, appears to be too short, when we consider that they may be so circumstanced, turned

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over

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over to another ship, and conveyed to a distant part of the globe, that they shall have no opportunity to claim payment; and should three years elapse before they could make application to the agent, they would find their bounty or prize money appropriated to the use of Greenwich Hospital; nay, should they die in the course of the voyage, it would be lost to their heirs and executors, who, being ignorant of their title, could not possibly claim within the time limited.

§ LIX. A committee having been appointed to enquire into the original standards of weights and measures in the kingdom of England, to consider the laws relating thereto, and to report their observations thereupon, together with their opinion of the most effectual means for ascertaining and enforcing uniform and certain standards of weights and measures, they prepared copies, models, patterns, and multiples, and presented them to the House; then they were locked up by the clerk of the House; and Lord Carysfort presented a bill, according to order, for enforcing uniformity of weights and measures to the standards by law to be established; but this measure, which had been so long in dependence, was not yet fully discussed, and the standards and weights were reserved to another occasion. A law was made for reviving and continuing so much of an act passed in the twenty-first year of his Majesty's reign as relates to the more effectual trial and punishment of high-treason in the Highlands of Scotland; and also for continuing two other acts passed in the nineteenth and twenty-first years of his Majesty's reign, so far as they relate to the more effectual disarming

the Highlands of Scotland, and securing the peace thereof; and to allow further time for making affidavits of the execution of articles or contracts of clerks to attornies or solicitors, and filing thereof. The King having been pleased to pardon George Keith, Earl Marischal of Scotland, who had been attainted for rebellion in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, the Parliament confirmed this indulgence, by passing an act to enable the said George Keith, late Earl Marischal, to sue or entertain any action or suit, notwithstanding his attainder, and to remove any disability in him, by reason of the said attainder, to take or inherit any real or personal estate that might or should hereafter descend or come to him, or which he was entitled to in reverse or remainder before his attainder. This nobleman, universally respected for his probity and understanding, had been employed as embassador to the court of France by the King of Prussia, and was actually at this juncture in the service of that monarch, who, in all probability, interceded with the King of England in his behalf. When his pardon had passed the seals, he repaired to London, and was presented to his Majesty, by whom he was very graciously received.

§ LX. These, and a good number of other bills of less importance, both private and publick, were passed into laws by commission, on the twenty-second day of May, when the lord-keeper of the great seal closed the session with a speech to both Houses. He began with an assurance that his Majesty looked back on their proceedings with entire satisfaction. He said, the duty and affection

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which they had expressed for the King's person and government, the zeal and unanimity they had shewed in maintaining the true interest of their country, could only be equalled by what his Majesty had formerly experienced from his Parliament. He told them it would have given his Majesty the most sensible pleasure, had he been able to assure them that his endeavours to promote a general peace had met with more suitable returns. He observed that his Majesty, in conjunction with his good brother and ally the King of Prussia, had chosen to give their enemies proofs of this equitable disposition, in the midst of a series of glorious victories; an opportunity the most proper to take such a step with dignity; and to manifest to all Europe the purity and moderation of his views. After such a conduct, he said, the King had the comfort to reflect that the further continuance of the calamities of war could not be imputed to him or his allies; that he trusted in the blessing of heaven upon the justice of his arms, and upon those ample means which the zeal of the Parliament in so good a cause had wisely put into his hands, that his future successes in carrying on the war would not fall short of the past; and that, in the event, the publick tranquillity would be restored on solid and durable foundations. He acquainted them that his Majesty had taken the most effectual care to augment the combined army in Germany: and at the same time to keep up such a force at home as might frustrate any attempts of the enemy to invade these kingdoms; such attempts as had hitherto ended only in their own confusion. He took notice that the royal navy

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was never in a more flourishing and respectable condition; and the signal victory obtained last winter over the French fleet on their own coast had given lustre to his Majesty's arms, fresh spirit to his maritime forces, and reduced the naval strength of France to a very low ebb. He gave them to understand that his Majesty had disposed his squadrons in such a manner as might best conduce to the annoyance of his enemies; to the defence of his own dominions, both in Europe and America; to the preserving and pursuing his conquests, as well as to the protection of the trade of his subjects, which he had extremely at heart. He told the Commons, that nothing could relieve his Majesty's Royal mind, under the anxiety he felt for the burthens of his faithful subjects, but the publick-spirited cheerfulness with which their House had granted him such large supplies, and his conviction that they were necessary for the security and essential interest of his kingdoms; he therefore returned them his hearty thanks for these supplies, and assured them they should be duly applied to the purposes for which they had been given. Finally, he recommended to both Houses the continuance of that union and good harmony which he had observed with so much pleasure, and from which he had derived such important effects. He desired they would study to promote these desirable objects, to support the King's government, and the good order of their respective counties, and to consult their own real happiness and prosperity.

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CHAP. XIII.

§ I. *Remarkable detection of a murder by William Andrew Horne.* § II. *Popular clamour against Lord George Sackville. His address to the publick.* § III. *He demands a court-martial.* § IV. *Substance of the charge against him.* § V. *His defence.* § VI. *Remark on it.* § VII. *Sentence of the court-martial.* § VIII. *Earl Ferrers apprehended for murder.* § IX. *Tried by the House of Peers.* § X. *Convicted.* § XI. *And executed at Tyburn.* § XII. *Assassination of Mr. Mathews, by one Stirn, a Hessian.* § XIII. *New bridge begun at Black-friars. Conflagration in Portsmouth-yard.* § XIV. *Number of ships taken by the enemy. Progress of Mons. Thurot.* § XV. *He makes a descent at Carrickfergus.* § XVI. *Is slain, and his ships taken.* § XVII. *Exploit of Captain Kennedy.* § XVIII. *Remarkable adventure of five Irish seamen.* § XIX. *The Ramillies man of war wrecked upon the Bolthead.* § XX. *Treaty with the Cherokees. Hostilities recommenced.* § XXI. *Their towns destroyed by Colonel Montgomery.* § XXII. *His expedition to the middle settlements.* § XXIII. *Fate of the garrison at Fort Loudon.* § XXIV. *The British interest established on the Ohio.* § XXV. *The French undertake the siege of Quebeck.* § XXVI. *Defeat Brigadier Murray, and oblige him to retire into the town.* § XXVII. *Quebeck besieged.* § XXVIII. *The enemy's shipping destroyed.* § XXIX. *They abandon the siege.* § XXX. *General Amherst reduces the French fort at the Isle*

Isle Royal. § XXXI. *And takes Montreal.* § XXXII. *French ships destroyed in the bay of Chaleurs. Total reduction of Canada.* § XXXIII. *Demolition of Louisbourg.* § XXXIV. *Insurrection of the negroes in Jamaica.* § XXXV. *Action at sea off Hispaniola.* § XXXVI. *Gallant behaviour of the Captains Obrien and Taylor in the Leeward Islands.* § XXXVII. *Transactions in the East-Indies.* § XXXVIII. *Achievements in the bay of Quiberon.* § XXXIX. *Admiral Rodney destroys some vessels on the coast of France.* § XL. *Preparations for a secret expedition.* § XLI. *Astronomers sent to the East-Indies.* § XLII. *Earthquakes in Syria.* § XLIII. *Wise conduct of the Catholic King.* § XLIV. *Affairs of Portugal.* § XLV. *Turkish ships of the line carried into Malta.* § XLVI. *Patriot schemes of the King of Denmark.* § XLVII. *Memorial presented by the British Ambassador to the States-General.* § XLVIII. *State of the powers at war.* § XLIX. *Death of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel.* § L. *Offers made by the neutral powers of a place for holding a congress.* § LI. *Skirmishes in Westphalia during the winter.* § LII. *Exactions by the French in Westphalia.* § LIII. *Skirmish to the advantage of the Allies at Vacha.* § LIV. *Situation of the French armies.* § LV. *Exploit of Colonel Luckner at Butzbach.* § LVI. *The French advance to Neustadt.* § LVII. *Hereditary Prince of Brunswick defeated at Corbach.* § LVIII. *But retrieves his honour at Exdorf.* § LIX. *Victory obtained by the Allies at Warbourg.* § LX. *The Hereditary Prince beats up the quarters of the French at Zeirenberg.* § LXI. *Petty advantages*

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on both sides. § LXII. *The Hereditary Prince marches to the Lower Rhine.* § LXIII. *Is worsted at Campen.* § LXIV. *And repasses the Rhine.* § LXV. *Attempt of the enemy against him.* § LXVI. *Advantages gained by M. de Stainville.* § LXVII. *The Allies and French go into winter quarters.*

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§ I. THE successes of the last campaign had flushed the whole nation with the most elevated hope of future conquest, and the government was enabled to take every step which appeared necessary to realize that sanguine expectation: but the war became every day more and more Germanised. Notwithstanding the immense sums that were raised for the expences of the current year; notwithstanding the great number of land-forces maintained in the service, and the numerous fleets that filled the harbours of Great-Britain; we do not find that one fresh effort was made to improve the advantages she had gained upon her own element, or for pushing the war on national principles: for the reduction of Canada was no more than the consequence of the measures which had been taken in the preceding campaign. But, before we record the progress of the war, it may be necessary to specify some domestick occurrences that for a little while engrossed the publick attention. In the month of December, in the preceding year, William Andrew Horne, a gentleman of some fortune in Derbyshire, was executed at Nottingham, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, for the murder of an infant born of his own sister, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-four. On the third day after the birth, this

this brutal ruffian thrust the child into a linen bag, and, accompanied by his own brother on horseback, conveyed it to Annestry, in Nottinghamshire, where it was next day found dead under a hay-stack. Though this cruel rustick knew how much he lay at the mercy of his brother, whom he had made privy to this affair, far from endeavouring to engage his secrecy by offices of kindness and marks of affection, he treated him as an alien to his blood; not barely with indifference, but even with the most barbarous rigour. He not only defrauded him of his right, but exacted of him the lowest menial services; beheld him starving in a cottage, while he lived himself in affluence; and refused to relieve with a morsel of charity the children of his own brother begging at his gate. It was the resentment of this pride and barbarity which, in all likelihood, first impelled the other to revenge. He pretended qualms of conscience, and disclosed the transaction of the child to several individuals. As the brother was universally hated for the insolence and brutality of his disposition, information was given against him, and a resolution formed to bring him to condign punishment. Being informed of this design, he tampered with his brother, and desired that he would retract, upon the trial, the evidence he had given before the justices. Though the brother rejected this scheme of subornation, he offered to withdraw himself from the kingdom, if he might have five pounds to defray the expence of his removal. So sordidly avaricious was the other, that he refused to advance this miserable pittance, though he knew his own life depended upon his compliance. He

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was accordingly apprehended, tried, and convicted on his brother's evidence; and then he confessed the particulars of his exposing the infant. He denied, indeed, that he had any thought the child would perish, and declared he intended it as a present to the gentleman at whose gate it was laid: but as he appeared to be a hardened miscreant, devoid of humanity, stained with the complicated crimes of tyranny, fraud, rapine, incest, and murder, very little credit is due to his declaration. In the course of the same month, part of Westminster was grievously alarmed by a dreadful conflagration, which broke out in the house of a cabinet-maker near Covent-Garden, raged with great fury, and reduced near twenty houses to ashes. Many others were damaged, and several persons either burned in their apartments, or buried under the ruins. The bad consequences of this calamity were in a great measure alleviated by the humanity of the publick, and the generous compassion of the Prince of Wales, who contributed liberally to the relief of the sufferers.

§ II. But no subject so much engrossed the conversations and passions of the publick as did the case of Lord George Sackville, who had by this time resigned his command in Germany, and returned to England: the country which, of all others, it would have been his interest to avoid at this juncture, if he was really conscious of the guilt the imputation of which his character now sustained. With the first tidings of the battle fought at Minden the defamation of this officer arrived. He was accused of having disobeyed orders, and his conduct represented as infamous in every particular.

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These were the suggestions of a vague report which no person could trace to its origin; yet this report immediately gave birth to one of the most inflammatory pamphlets that ever was exhibited to the publick. The first charge had alarmed the people of England, jealous in honour, sudden and rash in their resentments, and obstinately adhering to the prejudices they have espoused. The implied accusation in the orders of Prince Ferdinand, and the combustible matter superadded by the pamphlet writer, kindled up such a blaze of indignation in the minds of the people, as admitted of no temperament or control. An abhorrence and detestation of Lord George Sackville, as a coward and a traitor, became the universal passion, which acted by contagion, infecting all degrees of people from the cottage to the throne; and no individual, who had the least regard for his own character and quiet, would venture to preach up moderation, or even advise a suspension of belief until more certain information could be received. Fresh fuel was continually thrown in by obscure authors of pamphlets and news-papers, who stigmatized and insulted with such virulent perseverance, that one would have imagined they were actuated by personal motives, not retained by mercenary booksellers, against that unfortunate nobleman. Not satisfied with inventing circumstances to his dishonour, in his conduct on the last occasion, they pretended to take a retrospective view of his character, and produced a number of anecdotes to his prejudice, which had never before seen the light, and but for this occasion had probably never been known. Not that all the writings which appeared on this subject con-

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tained fresh matters of aggravation against Lord George Sackville. Some writers, either animated by the hope of advantage, or hired to betray the cause which they undertook to defend, entered the lists as professed champions of the accused, assumed the pen in his behalf, devoid of sense, unfurnished with materials, and produced performances which could not fail to injure his character among all those who believed that he countenanced their endeavours, and supplied them with the facts and arguments of his defence. Such precisely was the state of the dispute when Lord George arrived in London. While Prince Ferdinand was crowned with laurel; while the King of Great-Britain approved his conduct, and, as the most glorious mark of that approbation, invested him with the order of the garter; while his name was celebrated through all England, and extolled, in the warmest expressions of hyperbole, above all the heroes of antiquity; every mouth was opened in execration of the late commanded of the British troops in Germany. He was now made acquainted with the particulars of his imputed guilt, which he had before indistinctly learned. He was accused of having disobeyed three successive orders he had received from the General, during the action at Minden, to advance with the cavalry of the right wing, which he commanded, and sustain the infantry that were engaged; and, after the cavalry were put in motion, of having haulted them unnecessarily, and marched so slow, that they could not reach the place of action in time to be of any service; by which conduct the opportunity was lost of attacking the enemy when they gave way, and

rendering the victory more glorious and decisive. The first step which Lord George took towards his own vindication with the publick, was in printing a short address, entreating them to suspend their belief with respect to his character, until the charge brought against him should be legally discussed by a court-martial; a trial which he had already solicited, and was in hopes of obtaining. CHAP. XIII. 1760.

§ III. Finding himself unable to stem the tide of popular prejudice, which flowed against him with irresistible impetuosity, he might have retired in quiet and safety, and left it to ebb at leisure. This would have been generally deemed a prudential step, by all those who consider the unfavourable medium through which every particular of his conduct must have been viewed at that juncture, even by men who cherished the most candid intentions; when they reflected upon the power, influence, and popularity of his accuser; the danger of aggravating the resentment of the Sovereign, already too conspicuous; and the risk of hazarding his life on the honour and integrity of witnesses, who might think their fortunes depended upon the nature of the evidence they should give. Notwithstanding those suggestions, Lord George, seemingly impatient of the imputation under which his character laboured, insisted upon the privilege of a legal trial, which was granted accordingly, after the judges had given it as their opinion that he might be tried by a court-martial, though he no longer retained any commission in the service. A court of general officers being appointed and assembled to enquire into his conduct, the judge-advocate gave him to understand

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stand that he was charged with having disobeyed the orders of Prince Ferdinand, relative to the battle of Minden. That the reader may have the more distinct idea of the charge, it is necessary to remind him that Lord George Sackville commanded the cavalry of the right wing, consisting of Hanoverian and British horse, disposed in two lines, the British being at the extremity of the right, extending to the village of Hartum; the Hanoverian cavalry forming the left that reached almost to an open wood or grove, which divided the horse from the line of infantry, particularly from that part of the line of infantry consisting of two brigades of British foot, the Hanoverian guards, and Hardenberg's regiment. This was the body of troops which sustained the brunt of the battle with the most incredible courage and perseverance. They of their own accord advanced to attack the left of the enemy's cavalry, through a most dreadful fire of artillery and small arms, to which they were exposed in front and flank; they withstood the repeated attacks of the whole French gendarmerie, whom at length they totally routed, together with a body of Saxon troops on their left; and to their valour the victory was chiefly owing. The ground from which these troops advanced was a kind of heath or plain, which opened a considerable way to the left, where the rest of the army was formed in order of battle; but on the right it was bounded by the wood, on the other side of which the cavalry of the right wing was posted, having in front the village of Halen, from whence the French had been driven by the piquets in the army there posted, and in front of them a windmill,

windmill, situated in the middle space between them and a battery placed on the left of the enemy. CHAP. XIII. 1760.

§ IV. Early in the morning Captain Malhorti had, by order of Prince Ferdinand, posted the cavalry of the right wing in the situation we have just described; the village of Hartum with inclosures on the right, a narrow wood on the left, the village of Halen in their front, and a windmill in the middle of an open plain, which led directly to the enemy. In this position Lord George Sackville was directed to remain, until he should receive further orders; and here it was those orders were given which he was said to have disobeyed. Indeed he was previously charged with having neglected the orders of the preceding evening, which imported that the horses should be saddled at one in the morning, though the tents were not to be struck, nor the troops under arms, until they should receive further orders. He was accused of having disobeyed these orders, and of having come late into the field, after the cavalry was formed. Captain Winchingrode, aide-du-camp to Prince Ferdinand, declared upon oath, that while the infantry of the right wing were advancing towards the enemy for the second time, he was sent with orders to Lord George Sackville to advance with the cavalry of the right wing, and sustain the infantry, which was going to engage, by forming the horse under his command, upon the heath, in a third line behind the regiments; that he delivered these orders to Lord George Sackville, giving him to understand that he should march the cavalry through the wood or trees on his

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his left to the heath, were they were to be formed; that, on his return to the heath, he met Colonel Fitzroy riding at full gallop towards Lord George; and that he (Winchingrode) followed him back, in order to hasten the march of the cavalry. Colonel Ligonier, another of the Prince's aides-du-camp, deposed that he carried orders from the General to Lord George to advance with the cavalry, in order to profit from the disorder which appeared in the enemy's cavalry; that Lord George made no answer to these orders, but turning to the troops, commanded them to draw their swords, and march; that the Colonel seeing them advance a few paces on the right forwards, told his Lordship he must march to the left; that in the mean time Colonel Fitzroy arriving with orders for the British cavalry only to advance, Lord George said the orders were contradictory; and Colonel Ligonier replied they differed only in numbers, but the destination of his march was the same, to the left. Colonel Fitzroy, the third aide-du-camp to Prince Ferdinand, gave evidence, that when he told Lord George it was the Prince's order for the British cavalry to advance towards the left, his Lordship observed that it was different from the order brought by Colonel Ligonier, and he could not think the Prince intended to break the line; that he asked which way the cavalry was to march, and who was to be their guide; that when he (the aide-du-camp) offered to lead the column through the wood on the left, his Lordship seemed still dissatisfied with the order, saying, it did not agree with the order brought by Colonel Ligonier, and desired to be conducted in person

person to the Prince, that he might have an explanation from his own mouth; a resolution which was immediately executed. The next evidence, an officer of rank in the army, made oath that in his opinion, when the orders were delivered to Lord George, his Lordship was alarmed to a very great degree, and seemed to be in the utmost confusion. A certain nobleman, of high rank and unblemished reputation, declared, that Captain Winchingrode having told him it was absolutely necessary that the cavalry should march, and form a line to support the foot, he had given orders to the second line to march; that as soon as they arrived at the place where the action began, he was met by Colonel Fitzroy, with an order for the cavalry to advance as fast as possible; that in marching to this place, an order came to halt, until they could be joined by the first line of cavalry; that afterwards, in advancing, they were again halted by Lord George Sackville; that, in his opinion, they might have marched with more expedition, and even come up time enough to act against the enemy: some other officers who were examined on this subject, agreed with the Marquis in these sentiments.

§ V. Lord George, in his defence, proved, by undeniable evidence, that he never received the orders issued on the eve of the battle, nor any sort of intimation of plan of action, although he was certainly entitled to some such communication, as commander in chief of the British forces; that, nevertheless, the orders concerning the horses were obeyed by those who received them; that Lord George, instead of loitering or losing time

while

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while the troops were forming, prepared to put himself at the head of the cavalry on the first notice that they were in motion; that he was so eager to perform his duty, as to set out from his quarters without even waiting for an aide-du-camp to attend him, and was in the field before any general officer of his division. He declared that, when Captain Winchingrode delivered the order to form the cavalry in one line, making a third, to advance and sustain the infantry, he neither heard him say he was to march by the left, nor saw him point with his sword to the wood through which he was to pass. Neither of these directions were observed by any of the aides-du-camp or officers then present, except one gentleman, the person who bore witness to the confusion in the looks and deportment of his Lordship. It was proved that the nearest and most practicable way of advancing against the enemy was by the way of the windmill, to the left of the village of Halen. It appeared that Lord George imagined this was the only way by which he should be ordered to advance; that in this persuasion, he had sent an officer to reconnoitre the village of Halen, as an object of importance, as it would have been upon the flank of the cavalry in advancing forwards; that when he received the order from Winchingrode to form the line, and advance, he still imagined this was his route, and on this supposition immediately detached an aide-du-camp to remove a regiment of Saxe-Gotha, which was in the front; that he sent a second to observe the place where the infantry were, and a third to reconnoitre the enemy; that in a few minutes Colonel Ligonier coming up with an order from Prince Ferdinand

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to advance the cavalry, his Lordship immediately drew his sword, and ordered them to march forward by the windmill. The Colonel declared that when he delivered the order, he added "by the left;" but Lord George affirmed that he heard no such direction, nor did it reach the ears of any other person then present except of that officer who witnessed to the same direction given by Winchingrode. It was proved that immediately after the troops were put in motion, Colonel Fitzroy arrived with an order from Prince Ferdinand, importing that the British Cavalry only should advance by the left; that Lord George declared their orders were contradictory, and seemed the more puzzled, as he understood that both these gentlemen came off nearly at the same time from the Prince, and were probably directed to communicate the same order. It was therefore natural to suppose there was a mistake, as there might be danger in breaking the line, as the route by the wood appeared more difficult and tedious than that by the windmill, which led directly through open ground to the enemy; and as he could not think that if a body of horse was immediately wanted the General would send for the British, that were at the farthest extremity of the wing, rather than for the Hanoverian cavalry who formed the left of the line, and consequently were much nearer the scene of action. It was proved that Lord George, in this uncertainty, resolved to apply for an explanation to the Prince in person, who he understood was at a small distance; that with this view he set out with all possible expedition; that having entered the wood, and perceived that the country

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beyond it opened sooner to the left than he had imagined, and Captain Smith, his aide-du-camp, advising that the British cavalry should be put in motion, he sent back that gentleman, with orders for them to advance by the left with all possible dispatch; that he rode up to the General, who received him without any marks of displeasure, and ordered him to bring up the whole cavalry of the right wing in a line upon the heath; an order, as the reader will perceive, quite different from that which was so warmly espoused by the aide-du-camp; that as the Marquis of Granby had already put the second line in motion, according to a separate order which he had received, and the head of his column was already in view, coming out of the wood, Lord George thought it necessary to halt the troops on the left until the right should come into the line; and afterwards sent them orders to march slower, that two regiments, which had been thrown out of the line, might have an opportunity to replace themselves in their proper stations.

§ VI. With respect to the confusion which one officer affirmed was perceivable in the countenance and deportment of this commander, a considerable number of other officers then present being interrogated by his Lordship, unanimously declared that they saw no such marks of confusion, but that he delivered his orders with all the marks of coolness and deliberation. The candid reader will of himself determine, whether a man's heart is to be judged by any change of his complexion, granting such a change to have happened; whether the evidence of one witness, in such a case, will weigh

against the concurrent testimony of all the officers whose immediate business it was to attend and observe the commander; whether it was likely that an officer, who had been more than once in actual service, and behaved without reproach so as to attain such an eminent rank in the army, should exhibit symptoms of fear and confusion, when there was in reality no appearance of danger; for none of the orders imported that he should attack the enemy, but only advance to sustain the infantry. The time which elapsed from the first order he received by Captain Winchingrode, to the arrival of Colonel Ligonier, did not exceed eight minutes, during which his aide-du-camp, Captain Hugo, was employed in removing the Saxe-Gotha regiment from the front, by which he proposed to advance. From that period till the cavalry actually marched in consequence of an order from Lord George, the length of time was differently estimated in the opinion of different witnesses, but at a medium computed by the judge-advocate at fifteen minutes, during which the following circumstances were transacted: the troops were first ordered to advance forwards, then halted; the contradictory orders arrived and were disputed; the commander desired the two aides-du-camp to agree about which was the precise order, and he would obey it immediately: each insisting upon that which he had delivered, Lord George hastened to the General for an explanation; and, as he passed the wood, sent back Captain Smith to the right of the cavalry, which was at a considerable distance, to put the British horse in motion. We shall not pretend to deter-

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mine whether the commander of such an important body may be excusable, for hesitating, when he receives contradictory orders at the same time, especially when both orders run counter to his own judgment, whether in that case it is allowable for him to suspend the operation for a few minutes, in order to consult in person the commander in chief about a step of such consequence to the preservation of the whole army. Neither will we venture to decide dogmatically on the merits of the march, after the cavalry were put in motion; whether they marched too slow, or were unnecessarily halted in their way to the heath. It was proved, indeed, that Lord George was always remarkably slow in his movements of cavalry, on the supposition that if horses are blown they must be unfit for service, and that the least hurry is apt to disorder the line of horse to such a degree, as would rob them of their proper effect, and render all their efforts abortive. This being the system of Lord George Sackville, it may deserve consideration, whether he could deviate from it on this delicate occasion, without renouncing the dictates of his own judgment and discretion; and whether he was at liberty to use his own judgment, after having received the order to advance. After all, whether he was intentionally guilty, and what were the motives by which he was really actuated, are questions which his own conscience alone can solve. Even granting him to have hesitated from perplexity, to have lingered from vexation, to have failed through error of judgment, he will probably find favour with the candid and humane part of his fellow-subjects, when they reflect

reflect upon the nature of his situation, placed at the head of such a body of cavalry, uninstructed and uninformed of plan or circumstance, divided from the rest of the army, unacquainted with the operations of the day, chagrined with doubt and disappointment, and perplexed by contradictory orders, neither of which he could execute without offering violence to his own judgment; when they consider the endeavours he used to manifest his obedience; the last distinct order which he in person received and executed; that mankind are liable to mistakes; that the cavalry were not originally intended to act, as appears in the account of the battle published at the Hague, by the authority of Prince Ferdinand, expressly declaring that the cavalry on the right did not act, because it was destined to sustain the infantry in a third line; that if it had really been designed for action, it ought either to have been posted in another place, or permitted to advance straight forwards by the windmill, according to the idea of its commander; finally, when they recall to view the general confusion that seems to have prevailed through the manœuvres of that morning, and remember some particulars of the action; that the brigades of British artillery had no orders until they applied to Lord George Sackville, who directed them to the spot where they acquitted themselves with so much honour and effect, in contributing to the success of the day; that the glory and advantage acquired by the few brigades of infantry, who may be said to have defeated the whole French army, was in no respect owing to any general or particular orders or instructions,

but

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but entirely flowing from the native valour of the troops, and the spirited conduct of their immediate commanders; and that a great number of officers in the allied army, even of those who remained on the open heath, never saw the face of the enemy, or saw them at such a distance that they could not distinguish more than the hats and the arms of the British regiments with which they were engaged. With respect to the imputation of cowardice levelled at Lord George by the unthinking multitude, and circulated with such industry and clamour, we ought to consider it as a mob-accusation, which the bravest of men, even the great Duke of Marlborough, could not escape; we ought to receive it as a dangerous suspicion, which strikes at the root of character, and may blast that honour in a moment which the soldier has acquired in a long course of painful service, at the continual hazard of his life; we ought to distrust it as a malignant charge, altogether inconsistent with the former conduct of the person accused, as well as with his subsequent impatience and perseverance in demanding a trial, to which he never would have been called; a trial which, though his life was at stake, and his cause out of countenance, he sustained with such courage, fortitude, and presence of mind, as even his enemies themselves could not help admiring. Thus have we given a succinct detail of this remarkable affair, with that spirit of impartiality, that sacred regard to truth, which the importance of history demands. To the best of our recollection, we have forgot no essential article of the accusation, nor suppressed any material circumstance urged in defence of Lord

Lord George Sackville. Unknown to his person, unconnected with his friends, unmoved by fear, unbiassed by interest, we have candidly obeyed the dictates of justice, and the calls of humanity, in our endeavours to dissipate the clouds of prejudice and misapprehension; warmed, perhaps, with an honest disdain at the ungenerous, and in our opinion, unjust persecution, which, previous to his trial, an officer of rank, service, and character, the descendant of an illustrious family, the son of a nobleman universally respected, a Briton, a fellow-subject, had undergone. CHAP. XIII. 1760.

§ VII. The court-martial having examined the evidence and heard the defence, gave judgment in these words: "The court, upon due consideration of the whole matter before them, is of opinion that Lord George Sackville is guilty of having disobeyed the orders of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, whom he was, by his commission and instructions, directed to obey as commander in chief, according to the rules of war; and it is the further opinion of this court, that the said Lord George Sackville is, and he is hereby adjudged, unfit to serve his Majesty in any military capacity whatsoever." His sentence was confirmed by the King, who moreover signified his pleasure that it should be given out in publick orders, not only in Britain, but in America, and every quarter of the globe where any English troops happened to be, that officers, being convinced that neither high birth nor great employments can shelter offences of such a nature, and that seeing they are subject to censures much worse than death to a man who has any sense of honour, they may avoid

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avoid the fatal consequences arising from disobedience of orders. To complete the disgrace of this unfortunate General, his Majesty in council called for the council-book, and ordered the name of Lord George Sackville to be struck out of the list of privy-counsellors.

§ VIII. This summer was distinguished by another trial, still more remarkable. Laurence Earl Ferrers, a nobleman of a violent spirit, who had committed many outrages, and in the opinion of all who knew him, given manifold proofs of insanity, at length perpetrated a murder, which subjected him to the cognizance of justice. His deportment to his lady was so brutal, that application had been made to the House of Peers, and a separation effected by act of Parliament. Trustees were nominated; and one Mr. Johnson, who had during the best part of his life, been employed in the family, was now appointed receiver of the estates, at the earl's own request. The conduct of this man, in the course of his stewardship, gave umbrage to Lord Ferrers, whose disposition was equally jealous and vindictive. He imagined all his own family had conspired against his interest, and that Johnson was one of their accomplices; that he had been instrumental in obtaining the act of Parliament, which his Lordship considered as a grievous hardship; that he had disappointed him in regard to a certain contract about coal-mines; in a word, that there was a collusion between Johnson and the Earl's adversaries. Fired with these suppositions, he first expressed his resentment, by giving Johnson notice to quit the farm which he possessed on the estate; but finding the trustees had

had confirmed the lease, he determined to gratify his revenge by assassination, and laid his plan accordingly. On Sunday the thirteenth of January he appointed this unhappy man to come to his house on the Friday following, in order to peruse papers, or settle accounts; and Johnson went thither without the least suspicion of what was prepared for his reception: for although he was no stranger to his Lordship's dangerous disposition, and knew he had some time before incurred his displeasure, yet he imagined his resentment had entirely subsided, as the Earl had of late behaved to him with remarkable complacency. He therefore, at the time appointed, repaired to his Lordship's house at Stanton, in Leicestershire, at the distance of a short mile from his own habitation, and was admitted by a maid-servant. The Earl had dismissed every person in the house, upon various pretences, except three women who were left in the kitchen. Johnson, advancing to the door of his apartment, was received by his Lordship, who desired him to walk into another room, where he joined him in a few minutes, and then the door was locked on the inside. After a great deal of warm expostulation, the Earl insisted upon his subscribing a paper, acknowledging himself a villain; and on his refusing to comply with this demand, declared he would put him to death. In vain the unfortunate man remonstrated against this cruel injustice, and deprecated the indignation of this furious nobleman. He remained deaf to all his entreaties, drew forth a pistol which he had loaded for the purpose, and commanding him to implore Heaven's mercy on his knees, shot him

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through the body, while he remained in that supplicating attitude. The consequence of this violence was not immediate death; but his Lordship, seeing the wretched victim still alive and sensible, though agonized with pain, felt a momentary motion of pity. He ordered his servants to convey Mr. Johnson up stairs to a bed, to send for a surgeon, and give immediate notice of the accident to the wounded man's family. When Mr. Johnson's daughter came to the house, she was met by the Earl, who told her he had shot her father on purpose, and with deliberation. The same declaration he made to the surgeon, on his arrival. He stood by him while he examined the wound, described the manner in which the ball had penetrated, and seemed surprised that it should be lodged within the body. When he demanded the surgeon's opinion of the wound; the operator thought proper to temporise, for his own safety as well as for the sake of the publick, lest the Earl should take some other desperate step, to endeavour to escape. He therefore amused him with hopes of Johnson's recovery, about which he now seemed extremely anxious. He supported his spirits by immoderate drinking, after having retired to another apartment with the surgeon, whom he desired to take all possible care of his patient. He declared, however, that he did not repent of what he had done; that Johnson was a villain, who deserved to die; that, in case of his death, he (the Earl) would surrender himself to the House of Peers and take his trial. He said he could justify the action to his own conscience, and owned his intention was to have killed Johnson outright;

but

but as he still survived, and was in pain, he desired that all possible means might be used for his recovery. Nor did he seem altogether neglectful of his own safety: he endeavoured to tamper with the surgeon, and suggest what evidence he should give when called before a court of justice. He continued to drink himself into a state of intoxication, and all the cruelty of his hate seemed to return. He would not allow the wounded man to be removed to his own house; saying, he would keep him under his own roof, that he might plague the villain. He returned to the chamber where Johnson lay, insulted him with the most opprobrious language, threatened to shoot him through the head, and could hardly be restrained from committing further acts of violence on the poor man, who was already in extremity. After he retired to bed, the surgeon procured a sufficient number of assistants, who conveyed Mr. Johnson in an easy-chair to his own house, where he expired that same morning in great agonies. The same surgeon assembled a number of armed men to seize the murderer, who at first threatened resistance, but was soon apprehended, endeavouring to make his escape, and committed to the county prison. From thence he was conveyed to London by the gaoler of Leicester, and conducted by the Usher of the Black Rod and his deputy into the House of Lords, where the coroner's inquest, and the affidavits touching the murder, being read, the gaoler delivered up his prisoner to the care of Black Rod, and he was immediately committed to the Tower. He appeared very calm, composed, and unconcerned, from the time of his being apprehended;

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hended; conversed coolly on the subject of his imprisonment; made very pertinent remarks upon the nature of the habeas corpus act of Parliament, of which he hoped to avail himself; and when they withdrew from the House of Peers, desired he might not be visited by any of his relations or acquaintances. His understanding, which was naturally good, had been well cultivated; his arguments were rational, but his conduct was frantick.

§ IX. The circumstances of this assassination appeared so cruel and deliberate, that the people cried aloud for vengeance; and the government gave up the offender to the justice of his country. The Lord-Keeper Henley was appointed Lord High Steward for the trial of Earl Ferrers, and sat in state with all the Peers and Judges in Westminster Hall, which was for this purpose converted into a very august tribunal. On the sixteenth day of April the delinquent was brought from the Tower in a coach, attended by the Major of the Tower, the Gentleman-gaoler, the Wardours, and a detachment of the foot-guards. He was brought into court about ten; and the Lord Steward with the Peers taking their places, he was arraigned aloud in the midst of an infinite concourse of people, including many foreigners, who seemed wonderfully struck with the magnificence and solemnity of the tribunal. The murder was fully proved by unquestionable evidence: but the Earl pleaded insanity of mind; and, in order to establish this plea, called many witnesses to attest his lunacy in a variety of instances, which seemed too plainly to indicate a disordered imagination: unfounded

founded jealousy of plots and conspiracies, unconnected ravings, fits of musing, incoherent ejaculations, sudden starts of fury, denunciations of unprovoked revenge, frantick gesticulations, and a strange caprice of temper, were proved to have distinguished his conduct and deportment. It appeared that lunacy had been a family taint, and affected divers of his Lordship's relations; that a Solicitor of reputation had renounced his business on the full persuasion of his being disordered in his brain; that long before this unhappy event, his nearest relations had deliberated upon the expediency of taking out a commission of lunacy against him, and were prevented by no other reason than the apprehension of being convicted of *scandalum magnatum*, should the Jury find his lordship *compos mentis;* a circumstance which, in all probability, would have happened, inasmuch as the Earl's madness did not appear in his conversation, but in his conduct. A physician of eminence, whose practice was confined to persons labouring under this infirmity, declared that the particulars of the Earl's deportment and personal behaviour seemed to indicate lunacy. Indeed, all his neighbours and acquaintances had long considered him as a madman; and a certain noble Lord declared in the House of Peers, when the bill of separation was on the carpet, that he looked upon him in the light of a maniac; and that if some effectual step was not taken to divest him of the power of doing mischief, he did not doubt but that one day they should have occasion to try him for murder. The lawyers, who managed the prosecution in behalf of the Crown, endeavoured to invalidate

the

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the proofs of his lunacy, by observing, that his Lordship was never so much deprived of his reason but that he could distinguish between good and evil; that the murder he had committed was the effect of revenge for a conceived injury of some standing; that the malice was deliberate, and the plan artfully conducted; that immediately after the deed was perpetrated the Earl's conversation and reasonings were cool and consistent, until he drank himself into a state of intoxication; that in the opinion of the greatest lawyers, no criminal can avail himself of the plea of lunacy, provided the crime was committed during a lucid interval; but his Lordship, far from exhibiting any marks of insanity, had in the course of this trial, displayed uncommon understanding and sagacity in examining the witnesses, and making many shrewd and pertinent observations on the evidence which was given. These sentiments were comformable to the opinion of the Peers, who unanimously declared him guilty.—After all, in examining the vicious actions of a man who has betrayed manifest and manifold symptoms of insanity, it is not easy to distinguish those which are committed during the lucid interval. The suggestions of madness are often momentary and transient: the determinations of a lunatick, though generally rash and instantaneous, are sometimes the result of artful contrivance; but there is always an absurdity which is the criterion of the disease, either in the premises or conclusion. The Earl, it is true, had formed a deliberate plan for the perpetration of the murder; but he had taken no precautions for his own safety or escape: and this neglect will the more

more plainly appear to have been the criterion of insanity, if we reflect that he justified what he had done as a meritorious action; and declared he would, upon Mr. Johnson's death, surrender himself to the House of Lords. Had he been impelled to this violence by a sudden gust of passion it could not be expected that he should have taken any measure for his own preservation; but as it was the execution of a deliberate scheme, and his Lordship was by no means defective in point of ingenuity, he might have easily contrived means for concealing the murder, until he should have accomplished his escape: and in our opinion, any other than a madman would either have taken some such measures, or formed some plan for the concealment of his own guilt. The design itself seems to have been rather an intended sacrifice to justice than a gratification of revenge. Neither do we think that the sanity of his mind was ascertained by the accuracy and deliberation with which he made his remarks, and examined the evidence at his trial. The influence of his phrenzy might be past; though it was no sign of sound reason to supply the prosecutor with such an argument to his prejudice. Had his judgment been really unimpaired, he might have assumed the mask of lunacy for his own preservation.

§ X. The trial was continued for two days; and on the third the Lord Steward, after having made a short speech touching the heinous nature of the offence, pronounced the same sentence of death upon the Earl which malefactors of the lowest class undergo; that from the Tower, in which he was imprisoned, he should, on the Monday

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day following, be led to the common place of execution, there to be hanged by the neck, and his body be afterwards dissected and anatomized. This last part of the sentence seemed to shock the criminal extremely: he changed colour, his jaw quivered, and he appeared to be in great agitation; but during the remaining part of his life he behaved with surprising composure, and even unconcern. After he had received sentence, the Lords his Judges, by virtue of a power vested in them, respited his execution for one month, that he might have time to settle his temporal and spiritual concerns. Before sentence was passed, the Earl read a paper, in which he begged pardon of their Lordships for the trouble he had given, as well as for having, against his own inclination, pleaded lunacy at the request of his friends. He thanked them for the candid trial with which he had been indulged, and entreated their Lordships to recommend him to the King for mercy. He afterwards sent a letter to his Majesty, remonstrating, that he was the representative of a very ancient and honourable family, which had been allied to the Crown: and requesting that, if he could not be favoured with the species of death which in cases of treason distinguishes the nobleman from the plebeian, he might at least, out of consideration for his family, be allowed to suffer in the Tower, rather than at the common place of execution; but this indulgence was refused. From his return to the Tower to the day of his execution, he betrayed no mark of apprehension or impatience; but regulated his affairs with precision, and conversed without concern or restraint.

§ XI.

§ XI. On the fifth day of May, his body being demanded by the sheriffs at the Tower-gate, in consequence of a writ under the Great Seal of England, directed to the Lieutenant of the Tower, his Lordship desired permission to go in his own landau; and appeared gaily dressed in a light coloured suit of clothes, embroidered with silver. He was attended in the landau by one of the Sheriffs, and the Chaplain of the Tower, followed by the chariots of the Sheriffs, a mourning-coach and six, filled with his friends, and a hearse for the conveyance of his body. He was guarded by a posse of constables, a party of horse-grenadiers, and a detachment of infantry; and in this manner the procession moved from the Tower, through an infinite concourse of people, to Tyburn, where the gallows, and the scaffold erected under it, appeared covered with black baise. The Earl behaved with great composure to Mr. Sheriff Vaillant, who attended him in the landau: he observed that the gaiety of his apparel might seem odd on such an occasion, but that he had particular reasons for wearing that suit of clothes: he took notice of the vast multitude which crowded around him, brought thither, he supposed, by curiosity to see a nobleman hanged; he told the Sheriff he had applied to the King, by letter, that he might be permitted to die in the Tower, where the Earl of Essex, one of his ancestors, had been beheaded in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; an application which, he said, he had made with the more confidence, as he had the honour to quarter part of his Majesty's arms. He expressed some displeasure at being executed as a common felon,

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exposed to the eyes of such a multitude. The chaplain, who had never been admitted to him before, hinting that some account of his Lordship's sentiments on religion would be expected by the publick, he made answer that he did not think himself accountable to the publick for his private sentiments; that he had always adored one God, the creator of the universe; and, with respect to any particular opinions of his own, he had never propagated them, or endeavoured to make proselytes, because he thought it was criminal to disturb the established religion of his country, as Lord Bolingbroke had done by the publication of his writings. He added, that the great number of sects, and the multiplication of religious disputes, had almost banished morality. With regard to the crime for which he suffered, he declared that he had no malice against Mr. Johnson, and that the murder was owing to a perturbation of mind, occasioned by a variety of crosses and vexations. When he approached the place of execution, he expressed an earnest desire to see and take leave of a certain person who waited in a coach, a person for whom he entertained the most sincere regard and affection: but the sheriff prudently observed that such an interview might shock him, at a time when he had occasion for all his fortitude and recollection: he acquiesced in the justness of the remark, and delivered to him a pocket-book, a ring, and a purse, desiring they might be given to that person, whom he now declined seeing. On his arrival at Tyburn he came out of the landau, and ascended the scaffold, with a firm step and undaunted countenance. He refused

fused to join the chaplain in his devotions; but kneeling with him on black cushions, he repeated the Lord's Prayer, which he said he had always admired; and added with great energy, "O Lord, "forgive me all my errors, pardon all my sins." After this exercise, he presented his watch to Mr. Sheriff Vaillant; thanked him and the other gentlemen for all their civilities; and signified his desire of being buried at Breden, or Stanton, in Leicestershire. Finally, he gratified the executioner with a purse of money: then, the halter being adjusted to his neck, he stepped upon a little stage, erected upon springs, on the middle of the scaffold; and, the cap being pulled over his eyes, the sheriff made a signal, at which the stage fell from under his feet, and he was left suspended. His body, having hung an hour and five minutes, was cut down, placed in the hearse, and conveyed to the publick theatre for dissection; where being opened, and lying for some days as the subject of a publick lecture, at length it was carried off, and privately interred. Without all doubt, this unhappy nobleman's disposition was so dangerously mischievous, that it became necessary, for the good of society, either to confine him for life, as an incorrigible lunatick, or give him up at once as a sacrifice to justice. Perhaps it might be no absurd or unreasonable regulation in the legislature, to divest all lunaticks of the privilege of insanity, and, in case of enormity, subject them to the common penalties of the law; for though, in the eye of casuistry, consciousness must enter into the constitution of guilt, the consequences of murder committed by a maniack may be as pernicious to

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society as those of the most criminal and deliberate assassination: and the punishment of death can be hardly deemed unjust or rigorous, when inflicted upon a mischievous being, divested of all the perceptions of reason and humanity. At any rate as the nobility of England are raised by many illustrious distinctions above the level of plebeians, and as they are eminently distinguished from them in suffering punishment for high treason, which the law considers as the most atrocious crime that can be committed, it might not be unworthy of the notice of the legislature to deliberate whether some such pre-eminence ought not to be extended to noblemen convicted of other crimes; in order to alleviate as much as possible the disgrace of noble families which have deserved well of their country; to avoid any circumstance that may tend to diminish the lusture of the English nobility in the eyes of foreign nations; or to bring it into contempt with the common people of our own, already too licentious, and prone to abolish those distinctions which serve as the basis of decorum, order, and subordination.

§ XII. Homicide is the reproach of England: one would imagine there is something in the climate of this country, that not only disposes the natives to this inhuman outrage, but even infects foreigners who reside among them. Certain it is high passions will break out into the most enormous violence in that country where they are least controlled by the restraint of regulation and discipline; and it is equally certain, that in no civilized country under the sun there is such a relaxation of discipline, either religious or civil, as in England.

England. The month of August produced a remarkable instance of desperate revenge, perpetrated by one Stirn, a native of Hesse Cassel, inflamed and exasperated by a false punctilio of honour. This unhappy young man was descended of a good family, and possessed many accomplishments both of mind and person: but his character was distinguished by such a jealous sensibility, as rendered him unhappy in himself, and disagreeable to his acquaintance. After having for some years performed the office of usher in a boarding school, he was admitted to the house of one Mr. Matthews, a surgeon, in order to teach him the classicks, and instruct his children in musick, which he perfectly understood. He had not long resided in his family, when the surgeon took umbrage at some part of his conduct, taxed him roughly with fraud and ingratitude, and insisted upon his removing to another lodging. Whether he rejected this intimation, or found difficulty in procuring another apartment, the surgeon resolved to expel him by violence, called in the assistance of a peace officer, and turned him out into the street in the night, after having loaded him with the most provoking reproaches. These injuries and disgraces operating upon a mind jealous by nature and galled by adversity, produced a kind of phrenzy of resentment, and he took the desperate resolution of sacrificing Mr. Matthews to his revenge. Next day, having provided a case of pistols, and charged them for the occasion, he reinforced his rage by drinking an unusual quantity of wine; and repaired in the evening to a publick-house which Mr. Matthews frequented, in the

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neighbourhood of Hatton-Garden. There he accordingly found the unhappy victim sitting with some of his friends; and the surgeon, instead of palliating his former conduct, began to insult him afresh with the most opprobrious invectives. Stirn, exasperated by this additional indignity, pulled his pistol from his bosom; shot the surgeon, who immediately expired; and discharged the other at his own breast, though his confusion was such that it did not take effect. He was apprehended on the spot, and conveyed to prison; where, for some days, he refused all kind of sustenance, but afterwards became more composed. At his trial he pleaded insanity of mind; but, being found guilty, he resolved to anticipate the execution of the sentence. That same evening he drank poison; and notwithstanding all the remedies that could be administered, died in strong convulsions. His body was publickly dissected, according to the sentence of the law, and afterwards interred with those marks of indignity which are reserved for the perpetrators of suicide.

§ XIII. We shall close the domestick occurrences of this year with an account of two incidents, which, though of a very different nature in respect of each other, nevertheless concurred in demonstrating that the internal wealth and vigour of the nation were neither drained nor diminished by the enormous expence and inconveniences of the war. The committee appointed to manage the undertaking for a new bridge over the river Thames at Black-friars, having received and examined a variety of plans presented by different artists, at length gave the preference to the design

of

of one Mr. Mylne a young architect, a native of North-Britain, just returned from the prosecution of his studies at Rome, where he had gained the prize in the capital, which the academy of that city bestows on him who produces the most beautiful and useful plan on a given subject of architecture. This young man being in London, on his return to his own country, was advised to declare himself a candidate for the superintendency of the new bridge; and the plan which he presented was approved and adopted. The place being already ascertained, the Lord-Mayor of London, attended by the committee, and a great concourse of people, repaired to Black-friars, and laid the first stone of the bridge; placing upon it a plate, with an inscription, which does more honour to the publick spirit of the undertakers than to the classical taste of the author*. The other instance that

denoted

* Ultimo die Octobris, anno ab incarnatione
MDCCLX,
Auspicatissimo principe Georgio Tertio
Regnum jam ineunte,
Pontis hujus, in reipublicæ commodum
Urbisque majestatem
(Latè tum flagrante bello)
à S. P. Q. L. suscepti,
Primum lapidem posuit
THOMAS CHITTY, miles,
Prætor;
ROBERTO MYLNE achitecto.
Utque apud posteros extet monumentum
Voluntatis suæ erga virum,
Qui vigore ingenii, animi constantia,
Probitatis et virtutis suæ felici quâdam contagione,
(Favente Deo,
Faustisque Georgii Secundi auspiciis!)
Imperium Britannicum
In Asiâ, Africâ, et Americâ
Restituit, auxit, et stabilivit;

Necnon

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denoted the wealth and spirit of the nation, was the indifference and unconcern with whith they bore the loss of a vast magazine of naval stores belonging to the dock-yard at Portsmouth, which in the month of July was set on fire by lightning; and, consisting of combustibles, burned with such fury, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the workmen in the yard, the sailors in the harbour, and the troops in the town, that, before a stop was put to the conflagration, it had consumed a variety of stores, to an immense value. The damage however, was so immediately repaired, that it had no sort of effect in disconcerting any plan, or even in retarding any naval preparation.

§ XIV. How important these preparations must have been, may be judged from the prodigious increase of the navy, which, at this juncture, amounted to one hundred and twenty ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, sloops, bombs, and tenders. Of these capital ships, seventeen were stationed in the East-Indies, twenty for the defence of the West-India islands, twelve in North America, ten in the Mediterranean, and sixty-one either on the coast of France, in the harbours of England, or cruising in the English seas for the protection of the British commerce. Notwithstanding these numerous and powerful armaments, the enemy who had not a ship of the line at sea, were so alert with their small privateers and armed vessels, that in the beginning of this year, from

Necnon patriæ antiquum honorem et actoritatem
Inter Europæ gentes instauravit;
Cives Londinenses, uno consensu,
Huic ponti inscribi voluerunt nomen
GULIELMI PITT.

the

the first of March to the tenth of June, they had made prize of two hundred vessels belonging to Great-Britain and Ireland. The whole number of British ships taken by them, from the first day of June, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, to the first of June in the present year amounted to two thousand five hundred and thirty-nine; of these, seventy-eight were privateers, three hundred and twenty-one were retaken, and about the same number ransomed. In the same space of time, the British cruisers had made captures of nine hundred and forty-four vessels, including two hundred and forty-two privateers, many fishing boats and small coasters, the value of which hardly defrayed the expence of condemnation. That such a small proportion of ships should be taken from the enemy, is not at all surprising, when we consider the terrible shocks their commerce had previously received, and the great number of their mariners imprisoned in England: but the prodigious number of British vessels taken by their petty coasting privateers, in the face of such mighty armaments, numerous cruisers, and convoys, seems to argue, that either the English ships of war were inactive or improperly disposed, or that the merchants hazarded their ships without convoy. Certain it is in the course of this year we find fewer prizes taken from the enemy, and fewer exploits achieved at sea than we had occasion to record in the annals of the past. Not that the present year is altogether barren of events which redound to the honour of our marine commanders. We have, in recounting the transactions of the preceding year, mentioned a small armament equipped at Dunkirk, under

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under the command of M. de Thurot, who, in spite of all the vigilance of the British commander stationed in the Downs, found means to escape from the harbour in the month of October last and arrived at Gottenburgh in Sweden, from whence he proceeded to Bergen in Norway. His instructions were to make occasional descents upon the coast of Ireland: and, by dividing the troops, and distracting the attention of the government in that kingdom, to facilitate the enterprise of M. de Conflans, the fate of which we have already narrated. The original armament of Thurot consisted of five ships, one of which, called the Mareschal de Belleisle, was mounted with forty-four guns; the Begon, the Blond, the Terpsichore, had thirty guns each; and the Marante carried twenty-four. The number of soldiers put on board this little fleet did not exceed one thousand two hundred and seventy, exclusive of mariners, to the number of seven hundred; but two hundred of the troops were sent sick on shore, before the armament sailed from Dunkirk; and in their voyage between Gottenburgh and Bergen they lost company of the Begon, during a violent storm. The severity of the weather detained them nineteen days at Bergen, at the expiration of which they set sail for the western islands of Scotland, and discovered the northern part of Ireland in the latter end of January. The intention of Thurot was to make a descent about Derry; but before this design could be executed, the weather growing tempestuous, and the wind blowing off shore, they were driven out to sea, and in the night lost sight of the Marante,

which never joined them in the sequel. After having been tempest-beaten for some time, and exposed to a very scanty allowance of provision, the officers requested of Thurot that he would return to France, lest they should all perish by famine; but he lent a deaf ear to this proposal, and frankly told them he could not return to France without having struck some stroke for the service of his country. Nevertheless, in hopes of meeting with some refreshment, he steered to the islands of Isla, where the troops were landed: and here they found black cattle, and a small supply of oatmeal, for which they paid a reasonable price; and it must be owned, Thurot himself behaved with great moderation and generosity. CHAP. XIII. 1760.

§ XV. While this spirited adventurer struggled with these wants and difficulties, his arrival in those seas filled the whole kingdom with alarm. Bodies of regular troops and militia were posted along the coasts of Ireland and Scotland; and beside the squadron of Commodore Boys, who sailed to the northward on purpose to pursue the enemy, other ships of war were ordered to scour the British channel, and cruise between Scotland and Ireland. The weather no sooner permitted Thurot to pursue his destination, than he sailed from Isla to the bay of Carrickfergus, in Ireland, and made all the necessary preparations for a descent; which was accordingly effected with six hundred men, on the twenty-first day of February. Lieutenant-Colonel Jennings, who commanded four companies of raw undisciplined men at Carrickfergus, having received information that three ships had anchored about two miles and a half from the castle, which

was

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was ruinous and defenceless, immediately detached a party to make observations, and ordered the French prisoners there confined to be removed to Belfast. Mean while, the enemy landing without opposition, advanced towards the town, which they found as well guarded as the nature of the place, which was entirely open, and the circumstances of the English commander, would allow. A regular attack was carried on, and a spirited defence made*, until the ammunition of the English failed: then Colonel Jennings retired in order to the castle, which, however, was in all respects untenable; for besides a breach in the wall near fifty feet wide, they found themselves destitute of provision and ammunition. Nevertheless, they repulsed the assailants in the first attack, even after the gate was burst open, and supplied the want of shot with stones and rubbish. At length the Colonel and his troops were obliged to surrender, on condition that they should not be sent prisoners to France, but be ransomed, by sending thither an equal number of French prisoners from Great Britain or Ireland: that the castle should not be demolished, nor the town of Carrickfergus plundered or burned, on condition that the mayor and corporation should furnish the French troops with neces-

* One circumstance that attended this dispute deserves to be transmitted to posterity, as an instance of that courage, mingled with humanity, which constitutes true heroism. While the French and English were hotly engaged in one of the streets, a little child ran playfully between them, having no idea of the danger to which it was exposed; a common soldier of the enemy, perceiving the life of this poor innocent at stake, grounded his piece, advanced deliberately between the lines of fire, took up the child in his arms, conveyed it to a place of safety; then returning to his place, resumed his musket, and renewed his hostility.

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sary provisions. The enemy, after this exploit, did not presume to advance farther into the country; a step which indeed they could not have taken with any regard to their own safety: for by this time a considerable body of regular troops was assembled; and the people of the country manifested a laudable spirit of loyalty and resolution, crowding in great numbers to Belfast, to offer their service against the invaders. These circumstances, to which the enemy were no strangers, and the defeat of Conflans, which they had also learned, obliged them to quit their conquest, and re-embark with some precipitation, after having laid Carrickfergus under moderate contribution. CHAP. XIII. 1760.

§ XVI. The fate they escaped on shore they soon met with at sea. Captain John Elliot, who commanded three frigates at Kinsale, and had in the course of this war more than once already distinguished himself even in his early youth, by extraordinary acts of valour, was informed by a dispatch from the Duke of Bedford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, that three of the enemy's ships lay at anchor in the bay of Carrickfergus; and thither he immediately shaped his course in the ship Æolus, accompanied by the Pallas and Brilliant, under the command of the Captains Clements and Logie. On the twenty-eighth day of February they descried the enemy, and gave chase in sight of the Isle of Man; and, about nine in the morning, Captain Elliot, in his own ship, engaged the Belleisle, commanded by Thurot, although considerably his superior in strength of men, number of guns, and weight of metal. In a few minutes, his consorts were also engaged with the

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the other two ships of the enemy. After a warm action, maintained with great spirit on all sides for an hour and a half, Captain Elliot's Lieutenant boarded the Belleisle; and, striking her colours with his own hand, the commander submitted: his example was immediately followed by the other French captains; and the English Commodore, taking possession of his prizes, conveyed them into the bay of Ramsay, in the isle of Man, that their damage might be repaired. Though the Belleisle was very leaky and had lost her boltsprit, mizen-mast, and main-yard, in all probability the victory would not have been so easily obtained, had not the gallant Thurot fallen during the action. The victor had not even the consolation to perform the last offices to his brave enemy; for his body was thrown into the sea by his own people in the hurry of the engagement. The loss on the side of the English did not exceed forty men killed and wounded, whereas above three hundred of the enemy were slain and disabled. The service performed on this occasion was deemed so essential to the peace and commerce of Ireland, that the thanks of the House of Commons in that kingdom were voted to the conquerors of Thurot, as well as to Lieutenant-Colonel Jennings, for his spirited behaviour at Carrickfergus; and the freedom of the city of Cork was presented in silver boxes to the Captains Elliot, Clements, and Logie. The name of Thurot was become terrible to all the trading sea-ports of Great-Britain and Ireland; and therefore the defeat and capture of his squadron were celebrated with as hearty rejoicings as the most important victory could have produced.

§ XVII.

§ XVII. In the beginning of April another engagement between four frigates, still more equally matched, had a different issue, though not less honourable for the British commanders. Captain Skinner of the Biddeford, and Captain Kennedy of the Flamborough, both frigates, sailed on a cruise from Lisbon; and on the fourth day of April fell in with two large French frigates, convoy to a fleet of merchant-ships, which the English Captains immediately resolved to engage. The enemy did not decline the battle, which began about half an hour after six in the evening, and raged with great fury till eleven. By this time the Flamborough had lost sight of the Biddeford; and the frigate with which Captain Kennedy was engaged bore away with all the sail she could carry. He pursued her till noon the next day, when she had left him so far a-stern, that he lost sight of her, and returned to Lisbon, with the loss of fifteen men killed and wounded, including the Lieutenant of marines, and considerable damage both in her hull and rigging. In three days he was joined by the Biddeford, who had also compelled her antagonist to give way, and pursued her till she was out of sight. In about an hour after the action began, Captain Skinner was killed by a cannon-ball; and the command devolved to Lieutenant Knollis, son to the Earl of Banbury*, who maintained the battle with great spirit, even after he was wounded, until he received a second shot in his body, which

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* Five sons of this nobleman were remarkably distinguished in this war. The fourth and fifth were dangerously wounded at the battle of Minden; the second was hurt in the reduction of Guadaloupe; Lord Wallingford, the eldest, received a shot at Carrickfergus; and the third was slain in this engagement.

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proved mortal. Then the master assuming the direction, continued the engagement with equal resolution until the enemy made his escape; which he the more easily accomplished, as the Biddeford was disabled in her masts and rigging.

§ XVIII. The bravery of five Irishmen, and a boy belonging to the crew of a ship from Waterford, deserves commemoration. The vessel, in her return from Bilboa, laden with brandy and iron, being taken by a French privateer off Ushant, about the middle of April, the captors removed the master, and all the hands but these five men and the boy, who were left to assist nine Frenchmen in navigating the vessel to France. These stout Hibernians immediately formed a plan of insurrection, and executed it with success. Four of the French marines being below deck, three aloft among the rigging, one at the helm, and another walking the deck, Brian, who headed the enterprize, tripped up the heels of the French steersman, seized his pistol, and discharged it at him who walked the deck; but missing the mark, he knocked him down with the butt end of the piece. At the same time hallooing to his confederates below, they assailed the enemy with their own broadswords; and soon compelling them to submit, came upon deck, and shut the hatches. Brian being now in possession of the quarter-deck, those who were aloft called for quarter, and surrendered without opposition. The Irish having thus obtained a complete victory, almost without bloodshed, and secured the prisoners, another difficulty occurred: neither Brian nor any of his associates could read or write, or knew the least principle of navigation; but

but supposing his course to be north, he steered at a venture, and the first land he made was the neighbourhood of Youghall, where he happily arrived with his prisoners. CHAP. XIII. 1760.

§ XIX. The only considerable damage sustained by the navy of Great-Britain, since the commencement of this year, was the loss of the Ramillies, a magnificent ship of the second rate, belonging to the squadron which Admiral Boscawen commanded on the coast of France in order to watch the motions and distress the commerce of that restless, enterprising enemy. In the beginning of February a series of stormy weather obliged the Admiral to return from the bay of Quiberon to Plymouth, where he arrived with much difficulty: but the Ramillies overshot the entrance to the Sound; and being embayed near a point called the Bolt-head, about four leagues higher up the channel, was dashed in pieces among the rocks, after all her anchors and cables had given way. All her officers and men, amounting to seven hundred, perished on this occasion, except one midshipman and twenty-five mariners, who had the good fortune to save themselves by leaping on the rocks as the hull was thrown forwards, and raised up by the succeeding billows. Such were the most material transactions of the year, relating to the British empire in the seas of Europe.

§ XX. We shall now transport the reader to the continent of North-America, which, as the theatre of war, still maintained its former importance. The French emissaries from the province of Louisiana had exercised their arts of insinuation with such success among the Cherokees, a numerous and pow-

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erful nation of Indians settled on the confines of Virginia and Carolina, that they had infringed the peace with the English towards the latter end of the last year, and begun hostilities by plundering, massacring, and scalping several British subjects of the more southern provinces. Mr. Lyttleton, Governor of South-Carolina, having received information of these outrages, obtained the necessary aids from the assembly of his province, for maintaining a considerable body of forces, which was raised with great expedition. He marched in the beginning of October, at the head of eight hundred provincials, reinforced with three hundred regular troops, and penetrated into the heart of the country possessed by the Cherokees, who were so much intimidated by his vigour and dispatch, that they sent a deputation of their chiefs to sue for peace, which was re-established by a new treaty dictated by the English Governor. They obliged themselves to renounce the French interest, to deliver up all the spies and emissaries of that nation then resident among them; to surrender to justice those of their own people who had been concerned in murdering and scalping the British subjects; and for the performance of these articles two-and-twenty of their head men were put as hostages into the hands of the governor. So little regard, however, was paid by these savages to this solemn accommodation, that Mr. Lyttleton had been returned but a few days from their country, when they attempted to surprise the English fort Prince George, near the frontiers of Carolina, by going thither in a body, on pretence of delivering up some murderers; but the commanding officer

officer perceiving some suspicious circumstances in their behaviour, acted with such vigilance and circumspection as entirely frustrated their design.* Thus disappointed, they wreaked their vengeance upon the English subjects trading in their country, all of whom they butchered without mercy. Not contented with this barbarous sacrifice, they made incursions to the British settlements at the Long Lanes, and the forks of the Broad River, and massacred about forty defenceless colonists, who reposed themselves in full security on the peace so lately ratified. As views of interest could not have induced them to act in this manner, and their revenge had not been inflamed by any fresh provocation, these violences must be imputed to the instigation

* This attempt was conducted in the following manner, having doubtless been concerted with the two-and-twenty hostages who resided in the fort. On the sixteenth day of February, two Indian women appearing at Keowee, on the other side of the river, Mr. Dogharty, one of the officers of the fort, went out to ask them what news. While he was engaged in conversation with these females, the great Indian warrior Ocunnastota joining them, desired he would call the commanding officers, to whom he said he had something to propose. Accordingly, Lieutenant Cottymore appearing, accompanied by Ensign Bell, Dogharty, and Foster the interpreter, Ocunnastota told him he had something of consequence to impart to the Governor, whom he proposed to visit, and desired he might be attended by a white man, as a safeguard. The Lieutenant assuring him he should have a safeguard, the Indian declared he would then go and catch a horse for him; so saying, he swung a bridle thrice over his head, as a signal; and immediately twenty-five or thirty musquets, from different ambuscades, were discharged at the English officers. Mr. Cottymore received a shot in his left breast, and in a few days expired; Mr. Bell was wounded in the calf of the leg, and the interpreter in the buttock. Ensign Milne, who remained in the fort, was no sooner informed of this treachery, than he ordered the soldiers to shackle the hostages; in the execution of which order one man was killed upon the spot, and another wounded in his forehead with a tomahawk: circumstances which, added to the murder of the Lieutenant, incensed the garrison to such

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stigation of French incendiaries; and too plainly evinced the necessity of crowning our American conquests with the reduction of Louisiana, from whence these emissaries were undoubtedly dispatched.

§ XXI. The cruelty and mischief with which the Cherokees prosecuted their renewed hostilities, alarmed all the southern colonies of the English; and application was made for assistance to Mr. Amherst, the commander in chief of the King's forces in America. He forthwith detached twelve hundred chosen men to South-Carolina, under the command of Colonel Montgomery, brother to the Earl of Eglington, an officer of approved conduct and distinguished gallantry. Immediately after his arrival at Charles-Town, he advanced to Ninety-

a degree, that it was judged absolutely necessary to put the hostages to death without further hesitation. In the evening a party of Indians approached the fort, and firing two signal pieces, cried aloud in the Cherokee language—"Fight manfully, and you shall be assisted." Then they began an attack; and continued firing all night upon the fort, without doing the least execution. That a design was concerted between them and the hostages, appeared plainly from the nature of this assault; and this supposition was converted into a certainty next day, when some of the garrison, searching the apartment in which the hostages lay, found a bottle of poison, probably designed to be emptied into the well, and several tomahawks buried in the earth; which weapons had been privately conveyed to them by their friends, who were permitted to visit them without interruption. On the third day of March, the fort of Ninety-six was attacked by two hundred Cherokee Indians with musquetry, which had little or no effect; so that they were forced to retire with some loss, and revenged themselves on the open country, burning and ravaging all the houses and plantations belonging to English settlers in this part of the country, and all along the frontiers of Virginia. Not contented with pillaging and destroying the habitations; they wantoned in the most horrible barbarities; and their motions were so secret and sudden, that it was impossible for the inhabitants to know where the storm would burst, or take proper precautions for their own defence; so that a great number of the back settlements were totally abandoned.

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six, and proceeded to Twelve-mile River, which he passed in the beginning of June, without opposition. He continued his route by forced marches until he arrived in the neighbourhood of the Indian town called Little Keowee, where he encamped in an advantageous situation. Having reason to believe the enemy were not yet apprised of his coming, he resolved to rush upon them in the night by surprise. With this view, leaving his tents standing with a sufficient guard for the camp and waggons, he marched through the woods towards the Cherokee-town of Estatoe, at the distance of five-and-twenty miles: and in his route detached a company of light infantry to destroy the village of Little Keowee, where they were received with a smart fire; but they rushed in with their bayonets, and all the men were put to the sword. The main body proceeded straight to Estatoe, which they reached in the morning; but it had been abandoned about half an hour before their arrival. Some few of the Indians, who had not time to escape, were slain; and the town, consisting of two hundred houses, well stored with provision, ammunition, and all the necessaries of life, was first plundered, and then reduced to ashes; some of the wretched inhabitants who concealed themselves perishing in the flames. It was necessary to strike a terror into those savages by some examples of severity; and the soldiers became deaf to all the suggestions of mercy when they found in one of the Indian towns the body of an Englishman, whom they had put to the torture that very morning. Colonel Montgomery followed his blow with surprising rapidity. In the space of a few hours he

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he destroyed Sugar-Town, which was as large as Estatoe, and every village and house in the Lower Nation. The Indian villages in this part of the world were agreeably situated, generally consisting of about one hundred houses, neatly and commodiously built, and well supplied with provision. They had in particular large magazines of corn, which were consumed in the flames. All the men that were taken suffered immediate death; but the greater part of the nation had escaped with the utmost precipitation. In many houses the beds were yet warm, and the tables spread with victuals. Many loaded guns went off while the houses were burning. The savages had not time to save their most valuable effects. The soldiers found some money, three or four watches, a good quantity of wampum, clothes, and peltry. Colonel Montgomery having thus taken vengeance on the perfidious Cherokees, at the expense of five or six men killed or wounded, returned to Fort Prince George, with about forty Indian women and children whom he had made prisoners. Two of their warriors were set at liberty, and desired to inform their nation, that though they were now in the power of the English, they might still, on their submission, enjoy the blessing of peace. As the chief called Attakullakulla, alias the Little Carpenter, who had signed the last treaty, disapproved of the proceedings of his countrymen, and had done many good offices to the English since the renovation of the war, he was now given to understand that he might come down with some other chiefs to treat of an accommodation, which would be granted to the Cherokees on his account; but that

that the negotiation must be begun in a few days, otherwise all the towns in the Upper Nation would be ravaged, and reduced to ashes. CHAP. XIII. 1760.

§ XXII. These intimations having produced little or no effect, Colonel Mongomery resolved to make a second irruption into the middle settlements of the Cherokees, and began his march on the twenty-fourth day of June. On the twenty-seventh Captain Morrison, of the advanced party, was killed by a shot from a thicket, and the firing became so troublesome that his men gave way. The grenadiers and light infantry being detached to sustain them, continued to advance, notwithstanding the fire from the woods; until, from a rising ground, they discovered a body of the enemy. These they immediately attacked, and obliged to retire into a swamp; which when the rest of the troops came up; they were, after a short resistance, compelled to abandon: but as the country was difficult and the path extremely narrow, the forces suffered on their march from the fire of scattered parties who concealed themselves behind trees and bushes. At length they arrived at the town of Etchowee, which the inhabitants had forsaken after having removed every thing of value. Here while the army encamped on a small plain, surrounded by hills, it was incommoded by volleys from the enemy, which wounded some men, and killed several horses. They were even so daring as to attack the picquet guard, which repulsed them with difficulty; but, generally speaking, their parties declined an open engagement. Colonel Montgomery, sensible that, as many horses were killed or disabled, he could not proceed farther without

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without leaving his provisions behind, or abandoning the wounded men to the brutal revenge of a savage enemy, resolved to return; and began his retreat in the night, that he might be less disturbed by the Indians. Accordingly, he pursued his route for two days without interruption; but afterwards sustained some straggling fires from the woods, though the parties of the enemy were put to flight as soon as they appeared. In the beginning of July he arrived at Fort Prince George; this expedition having cost him about seventy men killed and wounded, including five officers.

§ XXIII. In revenge for these calamities, the Cherokees assembled to a considerable number, and formed the blockade of Fort Loudoun, a small fortification near the confines of Virginia, defended by an inconsiderable garrison, ill supplied with provision and necessaries. After having sustained a long siege, and being reduced to the utmost distress, Captain Demere, the commander, held a council of war with the other officers, to deliberate upon their present situation; when it appeared that their provisions were entirely exhausted; that they had subsisted a considerable time without bread upon horse flesh, and such supplies of pork and beans as the Indian women could introduce by stealth; that the men were so weakened with famine and fatigue, that in a little time they would not be able to do duty; that, for two nights past, considerable parties had deserted, and some thrown themselves upon the mercy of the enemy; that the garrison in general threatened to abandon the officers, and betake themselves to the woods; and that there was no prospect of relief,

lief, their communication having been long cut off from all the British settlements: for these reasons they were unanimously of opinion that it was impracticable to prolong their defence; that they should accept of an honourable capitulation; and Captain Stuart should be sent to treat with the warriors and the head men of the Cherokees, about the conditions of their surrender. This officer, being accordingly dispatched with full powers, obtained a capitulation of the Indians, by which the garrison was permitted to retire. The Indians desired that, when they arrived at Keowee, the Cherokee prisoners confined at that place should be released, all hostilities cease, a lasting accommodation be re-established, and a regulated trade revived. In consequence of this treaty the garrison evacuated the fort, and had marched about fifteen miles on their return to Carolina, when they were surrounded and surprised by a large body of Indians, who massacred all the officers except Captain Stuart, and slew five-and-twenty of the soldiers: the rest were made prisoners, and distributed among the different towns and villages of the nation. Captain Stuart owed his life to the generous intercession of the Little Carpenter, who ransomed him at the price of all he could command, and conducted him safe to Holston river, where he found Major Lewis advanced so far with a body of Virginians. The savages, encouraged by their success at Fort Loudoun, undertook the siege of Ninety-six, and other small fortifications; but retired precipitately on the approach of a body of provincials.

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§ XXIV.

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§ XXIV. In the mean time, the British interest and empire were firmly established on the banks of the Ohio, by the prudence and conduct of Major-General Stanwix, who had passed the winter at Pittsburgh, formerly Du Quesne, and employed that time in the most effectual manner for the service of his country. He repaired the old works, established posts of communication from the Ohio to the Monongahela, mounted the bastions that cover the isthmus with artillery; erected casements, store-houses, and barracks for a numerous garrison, and cultivated with equal diligence and success the friendship and alliance of the Indians. The happy consequence of these measures were soon apparent in the production of a considerable trade between the natives and the merchants of Pittsburgh, and in the perfect security of about four thousand settlers, who now returned to the quiet possession of the lands from whence they had been driven by the enemy on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.

§ XXV. The incidents of the war were much more important and decisive in the more northern parts of this great continent. The reader will remember that Brigadier-General Murray was left to command the garrison of Quebeck, amounting to about six thousand men: that a strong squadron of ships was stationed at Halifax, in Nova-Scotia, under the direction of Lord Colvil, an able and experienced officer, who had instructions to revisit Quebeck in the beginning of summer, as soon as the river St. Laurence should be navigable; and that General Amherst, the commander

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in chief of the forces in America, wintered in New-York, that he might be at hand to assemble his troops in the spring, and recommence his operations for the entire reduction of Canada. General Murray neglected no step that could be taken by the most vigilant officer for maintaining the important conquest of Quebeck, and subduing all the Lower Canada; the inhabitants of which actually submitted, and took the oath of allegiance to the King of Great-Britain.* The garrison, however,

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* The garrison of Quebeck, during the winter, repaired above five hundred houses, which had been damaged by the English cannon, built eight redoubts of wood, raised foot-banks along the ramparts, opened embrasures, mounted artillery, blocked up all the avenues of the suburbs with a stockade, removed eleven months' provisions into the highest part of the city, and formed a magazine of four thousand fascines. Two hundred men were posted at St. Foix, and twice the number at Lorette. Several hundred men marched to St. Augustin, brought off the enemy's advanced guard, with a great number of cattle, and disarmed the inhabitants. By these precautions the motions of the French were observed, the avenues of Quebeck were covered, and their dominion secured over eleven parishes, which furnished them with some fresh provision, and other necessaries for subsistence. Sixteen thousand cords of wood being wanted for the hospitals, guards, and quarters; and the method of transporting it from the isle of Orleans being found slow and difficult, on account of the floating ice in the river, a sufficient number of hand sledges were made, and two hundred wood-fellers set at work in the forest of St. Foix, where plenty of fuel was obtained and brought into the several regiments by the men that were not upon duty. A detachment of two hundred men being sent to the other side of the river, disarmed the inhabitants, and compelled them to take the oath of allegiance: by this step the English became masters of the southern side of the St. Laurence, and were supplied with good quantities of fresh provision. The advanced posts of the enemy were established at Point au Tremble, St. Augustin, and Le Calvaire; the main body of their army quartered between Trois Rivieres and Jaques Quartier. Their general having formed the design of attacking Quebeck in the winter, began to provide snow shoes or rackets, scaling-ladders, and fascines, and make all the necessary preparations for that enterprise. He took possession of Point Levi, where

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however, within the walls of Quebeck, suffered greatly from the excessive cold in the winter, and the want of vegetables and fresh provisions; insomuch that before the end of April, one thousand soldiers were dead of the scurvy, and twice that number rendered unfit for service. Such was the situation of the garrison, when Mr. Murray received undoubted intelligence that the French commander, the Chevelier de Levis, was employed in assembling his army, which had been cantoned in the neighbourhood of Montreal; that from the inhabitants of the country he had completed his eight battalions, regimented forty companies of the troops de Colonie, and determined to undertake the siege of Quebeck, whenever the river St. Laurence should be clear of ice, that he

where he formed a magazine of provisions; great part of which, however, fell into the hands of the English: for as soon as the river was froze over, Brigadier Murray dispatched thither two hundred men; at whose approach the enemy abandoned their magazine, and retreated with great precipitation. Here the detachment took post in a church, until they could build two wooden redoubts, and mount them with artillery. In the mean time, the enemy returning with a greater force to recover the post, some battalions, with the light infantry, marched over the ice, in order to cut off their communication; but they fled with great confusion, and afterwards took post at St. Michael, at a considerable distance farther down the river. They now resolved to postpone the siege of Quebeck, that they might carry it on in a more regular manner. They began to rig their ships, repair their small craft, build galleys, cast bombs and bullets, and prepare fascines and gabions; while Brigadier Murray employed his men in making preparations for a vigorous defence. He sent out a detachment, who surprised the enemy's posts at St. Augustin, Maison Brulée, and Ile Calvaire, where they took ninety prisoners. He afterwards ordered the light infantry to possess and fortify Cape Rouge, to prevent the enemy's landing at that place, as well as to be nearer at hand to observe their motions; but when the frost broke up, so that their ships could fall down the river, they landed at St. Augustin; and the English posts were abandoned one after another, the detachments retiring without loss into the city.

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could use his four frigates, and other vessels, by means of which he was entirely master of the river. CHAP. XIII. 1760.

§ XXVI. The brigadier, considering the city of Quebeck as no other than a strong cantonment, had projected a plan of defence, by extending lines, and entrenching his troops on the Heights of Abraham, which, at the distance of eight hundred paces, entirely commanded the ramparts of the city, and might have been defended by a small force against a formidable army. Fascines, and every other necessary for this work, had been provided; and in the month of April the men were set at work upon the projected lines: but the earth was so hardened by the frost, that it was found impracticable to proceed. Being informed on the night of the twenty-sixth, that the enemy had landed at Point au Tremble, to the number of ten thousand men, with five hundred savages, he ordered all the bridges over the river Cagrouge to be broken down, secured the landing places at Sylleri and the Foulon; and next day, marching in person with a strong detachment; and two field-pieces, took possession of an advantageous situation, and thus defeated the scheme with the French commander had laid for cutting off the posts which the English had established. These being all withdrawn, the brigadier that same afternoon marched back to Quebeck, with little or no loss, although his rear was harassed by the enemy. Here he formed a resolution which hath been censured by some criticks in war, as a measure that savoured more of youthful impatience, and overboiling courage, than of that military

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tary discretion which ought to distinguish a commander in such a delicate situation; but it is more easy to censure with an appearance of reason, than to act in such circumstances with any certainty of success. Mr. Murray, in his letter to the Secretary of State, declared that, although the enemy were greatly superior to him in number, yet, when he considered that the English forces were habituated to victory, that they were provided with a fine train of field artillery, that, in shutting them at once within the walls, he should have risked his whole stake on the single chance of defending a wretched fortification; a chance which could not be much lessened by an action in the field, though such an action would double the chance of success: for these reasons he determined to hazard a battle; should the event prove unprosperous, he resolved to hold out the place to the last extremity; then to retreat to the isle of Orleans, or Coudres, with the remainder of the garrison, and there wait for a reinforcement. In pursuance of these resolutions he gave the necessary orders over night: and on the twenty-eighth day of April, at half an hour after six in the morning, marched out with his little army of three thousand men, which he formed on the Heights in order of battle. The right brigade, commanded by Colonel Burton, consisted of the regiments of Amherst, Anstruther, Webb, and the second battalion of Royal Americans; the left, under Colonel Fraser, was formed of the regiments of Kennedy, Lascelles, Townshend, and the Highlanders. Otway's regiment, and the third battalion of Royal Americans, constituted the

corps de reserve. Major Dalling's corps of light infantry covered the right flank; the left was secured by Captain Huzzen's company of rangers, and one hundred volunteers, under the command of Captain Donald Macdonald; and each battalion was supplied with two field-pieces. Brigadier Murray having reconnoitered the enemy, perceived their van had taken possession of the rising grounds about three quarters of a mile in his front; but that their army was on the march in one column. Thinking this was the critical moment to attack them before they were formed, he advanced towards them with equal order and expedition. They were soon driven from the Heights, though not without a warm dispute; during which the body of their army advanced at a round pace, and formed in columns. Their van consisted of ten companies of grenadiers, two of volunteers, and four hundred savages; eight battalions, formed in four columns, with some bodies of Canadians in the intervals, constituted their main body; their rear was composed of two battalions, and some Canadians in the flanks; and two thousand Canadians formed the reserve. Their whole army amounted to upwards of twelve thousand men. Major Dalling, with great gallantry, dispossessed their grenadiers of a house and windmill which they occupied, in order to cover their left flank; and in this attack the major and some of his officers were wounded: nevertheless, the light infantry pursued the fugitives to a corps which was formed to sustain them; then the pursuers halted, and dispersed along the front of the right: a circumstance which prevented that wing from taking

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advantage of the first impression they had made on the left of the enemy. The light infantry being ordered to regain the flank, were, in attempting this motion, furiously charged, and thrown into disorder; then they retired to the rear in such a shattered condition, that they could never again be brought up during the whole action. Otway's regiment was instantly ordered to advance from the body of reserve, and sustain the right wing, which the enemy twice in vain attempted to penetrate. Meanwhile the left brigade of the British forces did not remain inactive: they had dispossessed the French of two redoubts, and sustained with undaunted resolution the whole efforts of the enemy's right, until they were fairly fought down, overpowered by numbers, and reduced to a handful, notwithstanding the assistance they received from the third battalion of Royal Americans, which had been stationed with the body of reserve as well as from Kennedy's regiment, posted in the centre. The French attacked with great impetuosity; and at length a fresh column of the regiment de Rousillon penetrating the left wing of the British army, it gave way; the disorder was soon communicated to the right; so that after a very obstinate dispute, which lasted an hour and three quarters, Brigadier Murray was obliged to quit the field, with the loss of one thousand men killed or wounded, and the greater part of his artillery. The enemy lost twice the number of men, and reaped no essential advantages from their victory.

§ XXVII. Mr. Murray, far from being dispirited by his defeat, no sooner retired within the walls

walls of Quebeck, then he resolved to prosecute the fortifications of the place, which had been interrupted by the severity of the winter; and the soldiers exerted themselves with incredible alacrity, not only in labouring at the works, but also in the defence of the town; before which the enemy had opened trenches on the very evening of the battle. Three ships anchored at the Foulon below their camp; and for several days they were employed in landing their cannon, mortars, and ammunition. Meanwhile they worked incessantly at their trenches before the town; and on the eleventh day of May opened one bomb battery, and three batteries of cannon. Brigadier Murray made the necessary dispositions to defend the place to the last extremity; he raised two cavaliers, contrived some outworks, and planted the ramparts with one hundred and thirty-two pieces of artillery, dragged thither mostly by the soldiery. Though the enemy cannonaded the place with great vivacity the first day, their fire soon slackened; and their batteries were, in a manner, silenced by the superior fire of the garrison; nevertheless, Quebeck would, in all probability, have reverted to its former owners, had a French fleet from Europe got the start of an English squadron in sailing up the river.

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§ XXVIII. Lord Colville had sailed from Halifax, with the fleet under his command, on the twenty-second day of April; but was retarded in his passage by thick fogs, contrary winds, and great shoals of ice floating down the river. Commodore Swanton, who had sailed from England with a small reinforcement, arrived about the

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beginning of May at the isle of Bec, in the river St. Laurence, where, with two ships, he purposed to wait for the rest of his squadron, which had separated from him in the passage: but one of these, the Lowestoffe, commanded by Captain Deane, had entered the harbour of Quebeck on the ninth day of May, and communicated to the governor the joyful news that the squadron was arrived in the river. Commodore Swanton no sooner received intimation that Quebeck was besieged, than he sailed up the river with all possible expedition, and on the fifteenth in the evening anchored above point Levi. The Brigadier expressing an earnest desire that the French squadron above the town might be removed, the Commodore ordered Captain Schomberg of the Diana, and Captain Deane of the Lowestoffe, to slip their cables early next morning, and attack the enemy's fleet, consisting of two frigates, two armed ships, and a great number of smaller vessels. They were no sooner in motion than the French ships fled in the utmost disorder. One of their frigates was driven on the rocks above Cape Diamond; the other ran ashore, and was burned at Point au Tremble, about ten leagues above the town; and all the other vessels were taken or destroyed.

§ XXIX. The enemy were so confounded and dispirited by this disaster, and the certain information that a strong English fleet was already in the river St. Laurence, that in the following night they raised the siege of Quebeck, and retreated with great precipitation, leaving their provisions, implements, and artillery to Governor Murray, who had intended to make a vigorous sally in the morning,

morning, and attempt to penetrate into the camp of the besiegers, which, from the information of prisoners and deserters, he conceived to be a very practicable scheme. For this purpose he had selected a body of troops, who were already under arms, when a lieutenant, whom he had sent out with a detachment to amuse the enemy, came and assured him that their trenches were abandoned. He instantly marched out of Quebeck at the head of his forces, in hopes of overtaking and making an impression on their rear, that he might have ample revenge for his late discomfiture; but they had passed the river Caprouge before he could come up with their army: however, he took some prisoners, and a great quantity of baggage, including their tents, stores, magazines of provision and ammunition, with thirty-four pieces of battering cannon, ten field-pieces, six mortars, four petards, a great number of scaling ladders, entrenching tools, and every other implement for a siege. They retired to Jacques-Quartier, where their ammunition began to fail, and they were abandoned by great part of the Canadians; so that they resigned all hope of succeeding against Quebeck, and began to take measures for the preservation of Montreal, against which the force under General Amherst was directed. There M. Vaudreuil had fixed his head quarters, and there he proposed to make his last stand against the efforts of the British General. He not only levied forces, collected magazines, and erected new fortifications, in the island of Montreal, but he had even recourse to feigned intelligence, and other arts of delusion, to support the spirits of the Canadians and their

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Indian allies, which had begun to flag, in consequence of their being obliged to abandon the siege of Quebeck. It must be owned, he acted with all the spirit and foresight of an experienced General, determined to exert himself for the preservation of the colony, even though very little prospect of success remained. His hopes, slender as they were, depended upon the natural strength of the country, rendered almost inaccessible by woods, mountains, and morasses, which might have retarded the progress of the English, and protracted the war, until a general pacification could be effected. In the mean time, Major-General Amherst was diligently employed in taking measures for the execution of the plan he had projected, in order to complete the conquest of Canada. He conveyed instructions to General Murray, directing him to advance by water towards Montreal, with all the troops that could be spared from the garrison of Quebeck. He detached Colonel Haviland, with a body of troops from Crown-Point, to take possession of the Isle au Noix, in the lake Champlain, and from thence penetrate the shortest way to the bank of the river St. Laurence; while he himself, with the main body of the army, amounting to about ten thousand men, including Indians, should proceed from the frontiers of New-York, by the rivers of the Mohawks and Oneidas, to the lake Ontario, and sail down the river St. Laurence to the Island of Montreal. Thus, on the supposition that all these particulars could be executed, the enemy must have been hemmed in, and entirely surrounded. In pursuance of this plan, General Amherst had provided

provided two armed sloops to cruise in the lake Ontario, under the command of Captain Loring; as well as a great number of batteaux, or smaller vessels, for the transportation of the troops, artillery, ammunition, implements, and baggage. Several regiments were ordered to proceed from Albany to Oswego, and the General taking his departure from Schenectady, with the rest of the forces in the latter end of June, arrived at the same place on the ninth day of July. CHAP. XIII. 1760.

§ XXX. Being informed that two French vessels had appeared off Oswego, he dispatched some batteaux to Niagara, with intelligence to Captain Loring, who immediately set sail in quest of them; but they escaped his pursuit, though they had twice appeared in the neighbourhood of Oswego since the arrival of the General, who endeavoured to amuse them, by detaching batteaux to different parts of the lake. The army being assembled, and joined by a considerable body of Indians, under the command of Sir William Johnson, the General detached Colonel Haldimand, with the light infantry, the grenadiers, and one battalion of Highlanders, to take post at the bottom of the lake, and assist the armed vessels in finding a passage to La Galette. On the tenth day of August the army embarked on board the batteaux and whale-boats, and proceeded on the lake towards the mouth of the river St. Laurence. Understanding that one of the enemy's vessels had run aground and was disabled, and that the other lay off La Galette, he resolved to make the best of his way down the river to Swegatchie, and attack the French fort at Isle Royale, one of the most important

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important posts on the river St. Laurence, the source of which it in a great measure commands. On the seventeenth, the row-galleys fell in with the French sloop commanded by M. de la Broquerie, who surrendered after a warm engagement. Mr. Amherst having detached some engineers to reconnoitre the coasts and islands in the neighbourhood of Isle Royale, he made a disposition for the attack of that Fortress, which was accordingly invested, after he had taken possession of the islands. Some of these the enemy had abandoned with such precipitation, as to leave behind a few scalps they had taken on the Mohawk river, a number of tools and utensils, two swivels, some barrels of pitch, and a large quantity of iron. The Indians were so incensed at sight of the scalps, that they burned a chapel, and all the houses of the enemy. Batteries being raised on the nearest islands, the fort was cannonaded not only by them, but likewise by the armed sloops; and the disposition was made for giving the assault, when M. Pouchart, the governor, thought proper to beat a parley, and surrender on capitulation. The General having taken possession of the fort, found it so well situated for commanding the lake Ontario, and the Mohawk river, that he resolved to maintain it with a garrison, and employed some days in repairing the fortifications.

§ XXXI. From this place his navigation down the river St. Laurence was rendered extremely difficult and dangerous, by a great number of violent riffs or rapides, and falls; among which he lost above fourscore men, forty-six batteaux, seventeen whale-boats, one row-galley, with some artillery,

artillery, stores, and ammunition. On the sixth day of September the troops were landed on the island of Montreal, without any opposition, except from some flying parties, which exchanged a few shot, and then fled with precipitation. That same day he repaired a bridge which they had broke down in their retreat; and after a march of two leagues, formed his army on a plain before Montreal, where they lay all night on their arms. Montreal is, in point of importance, the second place in Canada, situated in an island of the river St. Laurence, at an equal distance from Quebeck and the lake Ontario. Its central situation rendered it the staple of the Indian trade; yet the fortifications of it were inconsiderable, not at all adequate to the value of the place. General Amherst ordered some pieces of artillery to be brought up immediately from the landing place at La Chine, where he had left some regiments for the security of the boats, and determined to commence the siege in form; but in the morning of the seventh he received a letter from the Marquis de Vaudreuil by two officers, demanding a capitulation; which, after some letters had passed between the two generals, was granted upon as favourable terms as the French had reason to expect, considering that General Murray, with the troops from Quebeck, had by this time landed on the island; and Colonel Haviland, with the body under his command, had just arrived on the south side of the river, opposite to Montreal: circumstances equally favourable and surprising, if we reflect upon the different routes they pursued, through an enemy's country, where they had no intelligence

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of the motions of each other. Had any accident retarded the progress of General Amherst, the reduction of Montreal would have been attempted by General Murray, who embarked with his troops at Quebeck on board of a great number of small vessels, under the command of Captain Dean in the Diana. This gentleman, with uncommon abilities, surmounted the difficulties of an unknown, dangerous, and intricate navigation: and conducted the voyage with such success, that not a single vessel was lost in the expedition. M. de Levis, at the head of his forces, watched the motions of General Murray, who, in advancing up the river, published manifestos among the Canadians, which produced all the effect he could desire. Almost all the parishes on the south shore, as far as the river Sorrel, submitted, and took the oath of neutrality: and Lord Rollo disarmed all the inhabitants of the north shore, as far as Trois Rivieres, which, though the capital of a district, being no more than an open village, was taken without resistance. In a word, General Amherst took possession of Montreal, and thus completed the conquest of Canada; a conquest the most important of any that ever the British arms achieved, whether we consider the safety of the English colonies in North-America, now secured from invasion and encroachment; the extent and fertility of the country subdued; or the whole Indian commerce thus transferred to the traders of Great-Britain. The terms of the capitulation may perhaps be thought rather too favourable, as the enemy were actually inclosed and destitute of all hope of relief: but little points like these ought always

always to be sacrificed to the consideration of great objects; and the finishing the conquest of a great country without bloodshed, redounds as much to the honour as it argues the humanity of General Amherst, whose conduct had been irreproachable during the whole course of the American operations. At the same time, it must be allowed he was extremely fortunate in having subordinate commanders, who perfectly corresponded with his ideas; and a body of troops whom no labours could discourage, whom no dangers could dismay. Sir William Johnson, with a power of authority and insinuation peculiar to himself, not only maintained a surprising ascendancy over the most ferocious of all the Indian tribes, but kept them within the bounds of such salutary restraint, that not one single act of inhumanity was perpetrated by them during the whole course of this expedition. The zeal and conduct of Brigadier-General Gage, the undaunted spirit and enterprising genius of General Murray, the diligence and activity of Colonel Haviland, happily co-operated in promoting this great event.

§ XXXII. The French ministry had attempted to succour Montreal, by equipping a considerable number of store ships, and sending them out in the spring under convoy of a frigate; but as their officers understood that the British squadron had sailed up the river St. Laurence before their arrival, they took shelter in the bay of Chaleurs, on the coast of Acadia, where they did not long remain unmolested. Captain Byron, who commanded the ships of war that were left at Louisbourg, having received intelligence of them from

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Brigadier-General Whitmore, sailed thither with his squadron, and found them at anchor. The whole fleet consisted of one frigate, two large store-ships, and nineteen sail of smaller vessels; the greater part of which had been taken from the merchants of Great-Britain: all these were destroyed, together with two batteries which had been raised for their protection. The French town, consisting of two hundred houses, was demolished, and the settlement totally ruined. All the French subjects inhabiting the territories from the bay of Fundy to the banks of the river St. Laurence, and all the Indians through that tract of country, were now subdued, and subjected to the English government. In the month of December of the preceding year, the French colonists of Miramichi, Rickebuctou, and other places lying along the gulf of St. Laurence, made their submission by deputies to Colonel Frye, who commanded in Fort Cumberland at Chignecto. They afterwards renewed this submission in the most formal manner by subscribing articles, by which they obliged themselves, and the people they represented, to repair in the spring to Bay Verte, with all their effects and shipping, to be disposed of according to the direction of Colonel Lawrence, governor of Halifax, in Nova-Scotia. They were accompanied by two Indian chiefs of the nation of the Mickmacks, a powerful and numerous people, now become entirely dependent upon his Britannick Majesty. In a word, by the conquest of Canada, the Indian fur-trade, in its full extent, fell into the hands of the English. The French interest among the savage tribes, inhabiting an immense

immense tract of country, was totally extinguished: and their American possessions shrunk within the limits of Louisiana, an infant colony on the south of the Mississippi, which the British arms may at any time easily subdue. CHAP. XIII. 1760.

§ XXXIII. The conquest of Canada being achieved, nothing now remained to be done in North-America, except the demolition of the fortifications of Louisbourg on the island of Cape-Breton; for which purpose some able engineers had been sent from England with the ships commanded by Captain Byron. By means of mines artfully disposed and well constructed, the fortifications were reduced to a heap of rubbish, the glacis was levelled, and the ditches were filled. All the artillery, ammunition, and implements of war, were conveyed to Halifax; but the barracks were repaired so as to accommodate three hundred men occasionally; and the hospital with the private houses, were left standing. The French still possessed, upon the continent of America, the fertile country lying on each side of the great river Mississippi, which disembogues itself into the gulf of Florida; but the colony was so thinly peopled and so ill provided, that, far from being formidable, it scarce could have subsisted, unless the British traders had been base and treacherous enough to supply it from time to time with provisions and necessaries. The same infamous commerce was carried on with divers French plantations in the West Indies; insomuch that the governors of provinces, and commanders of the squadrons stationed in those seas, made formal complaints of it to the ministry. The temptation of extraordinary profit

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profit excited the merchants, not only to assist the enemies of their country, but also to run all risks in eluding the vigilance of the legislature. The inhabitants of Martinique found a plentiful market of provisions furnished by the British subjects at the Dutch islands of Eustatia and Curaçoa; and those that were settled on the island of Hispaniola were supplied in the same manner at the Spanish settlement of Monte-Christo.

§ XXXIV. While the British commanders exerted themselves by sea and land with the most laudable spirit of vigilance and courage against the foreign adversaries of their country, the colonists of Jamaica ran the most imminent hazard of being extirpated by a domestick enemy. The negro-slaves of that island, grown insolent in the contemplation of their own formidable numbers, or by observing the supine indolence of their masters, or stimulated by that appetite for liberty so natural to the mind of man, began, in the course of this year, to entertain thoughts of shaking off the yoke by means of a general insurrection. Assemblies were held, and plans revolved, for this purpose. At length they concerted a scheme for rising in arms all at once in different parts of the island, in order to massacre all the white men, and take possession of the government. They agreed that this design should be put in execution immediately after the departure of the fleet for Europe; but their plan was defeated by their ignorance and impatience. Those of the conspirators that belonged to Captain Forest's estate, being impelled by the fumes of intoxication, fell suddenly upon the overseer, while he sat at supper with some friends,

friends, and butchered the whole company. Being immediately joined by some of their confederates, they attacked the neighbouring plantations, where they repeated the same barbarities; and seizing all the arms and ammunition that fell in their way, began to grow formidable to the colony. The Governor no sooner received intimation of this disturbance, than he, by proclamation, subjected the colonists to martial law. All other business was interrupted, and every man took to his arms. The regular troops, joined by the troop of militia and a considerable number of volunteers, marched from Spanish Town to St. Mary's, where the insurrection began, and skirmished with the insurgents: but as they declined standing any regular engagement, and trusted chiefly to bush-fighting, the Governor employed against them the free blacks, commonly known by the name of the Wild Negroes, now peaceably settled under the protection of the government. These auxiliaries, in consideration of a price set upon the heads of the rebels, attacked them in their own way, slew them by surprise, until their strength was broken, and numbers made away with themselves in despair; so that the insurrection was supposed to be quelled about the beginning of May: but in June it broke out again with redoubled fury, and the rebels were reinforced to a very considerable number. The regular troops and the militia, joined by a body of sailors, formed a camp, under the command of Colonel Spragge, who sent out detachments against the negroes, a great number of whom were killed, and some taken; but the rest, instead of submitting, took shelter in the woods and mountains.

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The prisoners being tried, and found guilty of rebellion, were put to death by a variety of tortures. Some were hanged, some beheaded, some burned, and some fixed alive upon gibbets. One of these last lived eight days and eighteen hours, suspended under a vertical sun, without being refreshed by one drop of water, or receiving any manner of sustenance. In order to prevent such insurrections for the future, the justices assembled at the sessions of the peace established regulations, importing, that no negro-slave should be allowed to quit his plantation without a white conductor, or a ticket of leave: that every negro playing at any sort of game should be scourged through the publick streets; that every publican suffering such gaming in his house should forfeit forty shillings; that every proprietor suffering his negroes to beat a drum, blow a horn, or make any other noise in his plantation, should be fined ten pounds: and every overseer allowing these irregularities should pay half the sum, to be demanded, or distrained for, by any civil or military officer; that every free negro, or mulatto, should wear a blue cross on his right shoulder, on pain of imprisonment; that no mulatto, Indian, or negro, should hawk or sell any thing, except fresh fish and milk, on pain of being scourged; that rum and punch houses should be shut up during divine service on Sundays, under the penalty of twenty-shillings: and, that those who had petit licences should shut up their houses on other nights at nine o'clock.

§ XXXV. Notwithstanding these examples and regulations, a body of rebellious negroes still subsisted in places that were deemed inaccessible to

regular forces; and from these they made nocturnal irruptions into the nearest plantations, where they acted with all the wantonness of barbarity: so that the people of Jamaica were obliged to conduct themselves with the utmost vigilance and circumspection; while Rear-Admiral Holmes, who commanded at sea, took every precaution to secure the island from insult or invasion. He not only took measures for the defence of Jamaica, but also contrived and executed schemes for annoying the enemy. Having in the month of October received intelligence, that five French frigates were equipped at Cape François, on the Island of Hispaniola, in order to convoy a fleet of merchant-ships to Europe, he stationed the ships under his command in such a manner as was most likely to intercept this fleet; and his disposition was attended with success. The enemy sailed from the Cape, to the number of eight sail, on the sixteenth; and next day they were chased by the king's ships the Hampshire, Lively, and Boreas; which however made small progress, as there was little wind, and that variable. In the evening the breeze freshened; and about midnight the Boreas came up with the Sirenne, commanded by Commodore M'Cartie. They engaged with great vivacity for about twenty-five minutes, when the Sirenne shot ahead, and made the best of her way. The Boreas was so damaged in her rigging, that she could not close with the enemy again till next day, at two in the afternoon, when the action was renewed off the east end of Cuba, and maintained till forty minutes past four, when Mr. M'Cartie struck. In the mean time, the Hampshire and Lively gave chase

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chase to the other four French frigates, which steered to the southward with all the sail they could carry, in order to reach the west end of Tortuga, and shelter themselves in Port au Prince. On the eighteenth the Lively, by the help of her oars, came up with the Valeur, at half an hour past seven in the morning; and after a hot action, which continued an hour and a half, compelled the enemy to submit. The Hampshire stood after the other three, and about four in the afternoon ran up between the Duke de Choiseul and the Prince Edward. These she engaged at the same time; but the first, having the advantage of the wind, made her retreat into Port au Paix; the other ran ashore about two leagues to leeward, and struck her colours: but at the approach of the Hampshire the enemy set her on fire, and she blew up. This was also the fate of the Fleur de Lys, which had run into Fresh-water Bay, a little farther to leeward of Port au Prince. Thus, by the prudent disposition of Admiral Holmes, and the gallantry of his three Captains Norbury, Uvedale, and Maitland, two large frigates of the enemy were taken, and three destroyed. The spirit of the officers was happily supported by an uncommon exertion of courage in the men, who cheerfully engaged in the most dangerous enterprizes. Immediately after the capture of the French frigates, eight of the enemy's privateers were destroyed or brought into Jamaica. Two of these, namely, the Vainqueur of ten guns, sixteen swivels, and ninety men, and the Mackau of six swivels and fifteen men, had run into shoal water in Cumberland harbour, on the island of Cuba. The boats

of the Trent and Boreas, manned, under the direction of the Lieutenants Millar and Stuart, being rowed up to the Vanqueur, boarded and took possession under a close fire, after having surmounted many other difficulties. The Mackau was taken without any resistance: then the boats proceeded against the Guespe, of eight guns, and eighty-five men, which lay at anchor further up in the Lagoon; but before they came up the enemy had set her on fire, and she was destroyed. CHAP. XIII. 1760.

§ XXXVI. The same activity and resolution distinguished the Captains and Officers belonging to the squadron commanded by Sir James Douglas off the Leeward Islands. In the month of September, the Captains Obrien and Taylor, of the ships Temple and Griffin, being on a joint cruize off the islands Granadas, received intelligence that the Virgin, formerly a British sloop of war, which had been taken by the enemy, then lay at anchor, together with three privateers, under protection of three forts on the island, sailed thither in order to attack them, and their enterprize was crowned with success. After a warm engagement, which lasted several hours, the enemy's batteries were silenced, and indeed demolished, and the English Captains took possession of the four prizes. They afterwards entered another harbour of that island, having first demolished another fort; and there they lay four days unmolested, at the expiration of which they carried off three other prizes. In their return to Antigua, they fell in with thirteen ships bound to Martinique with provisions, and took them all without resistance. About the same time eight or nine privateers were taken by the ships

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which Commodore Sir James Douglas employed in cruising round the island of Guadaloupe, so that the British commerce in those seas flourished under his care and protection.

§ XXXVII. In the East-Indies the British arms still continued to prosper. After the reduction of Arcot, the garrisons of Permacoil and Allumparva surrendered themselves prisoners of war in the beginning of May. The Falmouth obliged the Haarlem, a French ship from Meguy, to run ashore to the northward of Pondicherry. The important settlement of Carical was reduced by the sea and land forces commanded by Rear-Admiral Cornish and Major Monson, and the French garrison made prisoners of war; and Colonel Coote formed the blockade of Pondicherry by land, while the harbour was beset by the English squadron.

§ XXXVIII. No action of importance was in the course of this year achieved by the naval force of Great-Britain in the seas of Europe. A powerful squadron still remained in the bay of Quiberon, in order to amuse and employ a body of French forces on that part of the coast, and interrupt the navigation of the enemy; though the principal aim of this armament seems to have been to watch and detain the few French ships which had run into the river Villaine, after the defeat of Conflans; an object, the importance of which will doubtless astonish posterity. The fleet employed on this service was alternately commanded by Admiral Boscawen and Sir Edward Hawke, officers of distinguished abilities, whose talents might have been surely rendered subservient to

to much greater national advantages. All that Mr. Boscawen could do in this circumscribed scene of action was, to take possession of a small island near the river Vannes, which he caused to be cultivated, and planted with vegetables, for the use of the men infected with scorbutick disorders arising from salt provision, sea air, and want of proper exercise. In the month of September, Sir Edward Hawke, who had by this time relieved Mr. Boscawen, detached the gallant Lord Howe, in the Magnanime, with the ships Prince Frederick and Bedford, to reduce the little island of Dumet, about three miles in length, and two in breadth, abounding with fresh water. It was defended by a small fort, mounted with nine cannon, and manned with one company of the regiment of Bourbon, who surrendered in a very short time after the ships had begun the attack. By this small conquest a considerable expence was saved to the nation in the article of transports employed to carry water for the use of the squadron.

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§ XXXIX. Admiral Rodney still maintained his former station off the coast of Havre de Grace to observe what should pass at the mouth of the Seine. In the month of July, while he hovered in this neighbourhood, five large flat-bottomed boats, laden with cannon and shot, set sail from Harfleur, in the middle of the day, with their colours flying, as if they had set the English squadron at defiance; for the walls of Havre de Grace, and even the adjacent hills, were covered with spectators, assembled to behold the issue of this adventure. Having reached the river of Caen, they stood backwards

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and forwards upon the shoals, intending to amuse Admiral Rodney till night, and then proceed under cover of the darkness. He perceived their drift, and gave directions to his small vessels to be ready, that as soon as day-light failed, they should make all the sail they could for the mouth of the river Orne, in order to cut off the enemy's retreat, while he himself stood with the larger ships to the steep coast of Port Bassin. The scheme succeeded to his wish. The enemy, seeing their retreat cut off, ran ashore at Port Bassin, where the Admiral destroyed them, together with the small fort which had been erected for the defence of this harbour. Each of those vessels was one hundred feet in length, and capable of containing four hundred men for a short passage. What their destination was we cannot pretend to determine: but the French had provided a great number of these transports; for ten escaped into the river Orne leading to Caen: and in consequence of this disaster one hundred were unloaded, and sent up again to Rouen. This was not all the damage that the enemy sustained on this part of the coast. In the month of November, Captain Ourry, of the Acteon, chased a large privateer, and drove her ashore between Cape Barfleur and La Hogue, where she perished. The cutters belonging to Admiral Rodney's squadron secured the coast towards Dieppe, where a considerable fishery was carried on, and where they took or destroyed near forty vessels of considerable burthen. Though the English navy suffered nothing from the French during this period, it sustained some damage from the weather. The Conqueror, a new ship of the line,

line, was lost in the Channel, on the island of St. Nicholas, but the crew and cannon were saved. The Lyme, of twenty guns, foundered in the Cattegat, in Norway, and fifty of the men perished; and, in the West-Indies, a tender belonging to the Dublin, commanded by Commodore Sir James Douglas, was lost in a gale of wind, with an hundred chosen mariners. CHAP. XIII. 1760.

§ XL. Of the domestick transactions relating to the war, the most considerable was the equipment of a powerful armament destined for some secret expedition. A numerous body of forces was assembled, and a great number of transports collected at Portsmouth. Generals were nominated to the command of this enterprize. The troops were actually embarked with a great train of artillery; and the eyes of the whole nation were attentively fixed upon this armament, which could not have been prepared without incurring a prodigious expence. Notwithstanding these preparations, the whole summer was spent in idleness and inaction; and in the latter end of the season the undertaking was laid aside. The people did not fail to clamour against the inactivity of the summer, and complain that, notwithstanding the immense subsidies granted for the prosecution of the war, no stroke of importance was struck in Europe for the advantage of Great-Britain: but that her treasure was lavished upon fruitless parade, or a German alliance still more pernicious. It must be owned, indeed, that no new attempt was made to annoy the enemy on British principles; for the surrender of Montreal was the natural consequence of the steps which had been taken, and of the measures concerted

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concerted in the course of the preceding year. It will be allowed, we apprehend, that the expence incurred by the armament at Portsmouth, and the body of troops there detained, would have been sufficient, if properly applied, to reduce the island of Mauritius in the Indian ocean, Martinique in the West-Indies, or Minorca in the Mediterranean; and all these three were objects of importance. In all probability, the design of the armament was either to intimidate the French into proposals of peace; to make a diversion from the Rhine; by alarming the coast of Bretagne; or to throw over a body of troops into Flanders, to effect a junction with the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who, at the head of twenty thousand men, had made an irruption as far as the Lower Rhine, and even crossed that river; but he miscarried in the execution of his design.

§ XLI. In the midst of these alarms some regard was paid to the improvements of natural knowledge. The Royal Society having made application to the King, representing that there would be a transit of Venus over the disk of the sun, on the sixth day of June; and that there was reason to hope the parallax of that planet might be more accurately determined by making proper observations of this phænomenon at the island of St. Helena near the coast of Africa, and at Bencoolen in the East-Indies, his Majesty granted a sum of money to defray the expence of sending able astronomers to those two places, and ordered a ship of war to be equipped for their conveyance. Accordingly, Mr. Nevil Maskelyne and Mr. Robert Waddington were appointed to make the ob-

servations at St. Helena; and Mr. Charles Mason and Mr. Jeremiah Dixon undertook the voyage to Bencoolen, on the island of Sumatra*. CHAP. XIII. 1760.

§ XLII. Except the countries that were actually the scenes of war, no political revolution or disturbance disquieted the general tranquillity. Syria, indeed, felt all the horrors and wreck of a dreadful earthquake, protracted in repeated shocks, which began on the thirteenth day of October, in the neighbourhood of Tripoli. A great number of houses were overthrown at Seyde, and many people buried under the ruins. It was felt through a space of ten thousand square leagues, comprehending the mountains of Libanus and Antilibanus, with an infinite number of villages, that were reduced to heaps of rubbish. At Acra, or Ptolemais, the sea overflowed its banks, and poured into the streets, though eight feet above the level of the water. The city of Saphet was entirely destroyed, and the greatest part of its inhabitants perished. At Damascus all the minarets were overthrown, and six thousand people lost their lives. The shocks diminished gradually till the twenty-fifth day of November, when they were renewed with redoubled havock; the earth trembled with the most dreadful convulsions, and the greater part of Tripoli was destroyed. Balbeck was entirely ruined, and this was the fate of many other towns and castles; so that the people who escaped the ruins were obliged to sojourn in the open fields,

* In the beginning of April the King granted to his grandson Prince Edward Augustus, and to the heirs male of his Royal Highness, the dignities of Duke of the kingdom of Great-Britain, and of Earl of the kingdom of Ireland, by the names, styles, and titles of Duke of York and Albany, and Earl of Ulster.

and

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and all Syria was threatened with the vengeance of heaven. Such a dangerous ferment arose at Constantinople, that a revolution was apprehended. Mustapha, the present Emperor, had no sons; but his brother Bajazet, whose life he had spared, contrary to the maxims of Turkish policy, produced a son by one of the women with whom he was indulged in his confinement; a circumstance which aroused the jealousy of the Emperor to such a degree, that he resolved to dispatch his brother. The great officers of the Porte opposed this design, which was so disagreeable to the people, that an insurrection ensued. Several Turks and Armenians, taking it for granted that a revolution was at hand, bought up great quantities of grain; and a dreadful dearth was the consequence of this monopoly. The Sultan assembled the troops, quieted the insurgents, ordered the engrossers of corn to be executed; and in a little time the repose of the city was re-established.

§ XLIII. Notwithstanding the prospect of a rupture in Italy, no new incident interrupted the tranquillity which the southern parts of Europe enjoyed. The King of Spain, howsoever solicited by the other branch of the House of Bourbon to engage in the war, as its ally, refused to interpose in any other way than as a mediator between the courts of London and Versailles. He sent the Conde de Fuentes, a nobleman of high rank and character, in quality of ambassador extraordinary to the King of Great-Britain, in order to offer his good offices for effecting a peace; and the Conde, after having conferred with the English ministry, made an excursion to Paris; but his proposal with respect

respect to a cessation of hostilities, if in reality such a proposal was ever made, did not meet with a cordial reception. Other differences subsisting between the crowns of Great-Britain and Spain he found no difficulty in compromising. His Catholick Majesty persisted in the execution of a plan truly worthy of a patriot King. In the first place he spared no pains and application to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the state of his kingdom. He remitted to his people all they owed the crown, amounting to threescore millions of reals: he demanded an exact account of his father's debts, that they might be discharged with the utmost punctuality: an order was sent to the treasury, that ten millions of reals should be annually appropriated for this purpose, until the whole should be liquidated; and to the first year's payment he added fifty millions, to be divided equally among the legal claimants. He took measures for the vigorous execution of the laws against offenders; encouraged industry; protected commerce; and felt the exquisite pleasure of being beloved as the father of his people. To give importance to his crown, and extend his influence among the powers of Europe, he equipped a powerful squadron of ships at Carthagena; and is said to have declared his intention to employ them against Algiers, should the Dey refuse to release the slaves of the Spanish nation. CHAP. XIII. 1760.

§ XLIV. Portugal still seemed agitated from the shock of the late conspiracy which was quelled in that kingdom. The Pope's nuncio was not only forbid the court, but even sent under a strong guard to the frontiers: an indignity which induced the

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the pontiff to order the Portuguese minister at Rome to evacuate the ecclesiastical dominions. In the mean time, another embarkation of Jesuits was sent from Lisbon to Civita Vecchia; yet the expulsion of these fathers did not restore the internal peace of Portugal, or put an end to the practice of plotting: for, even since their departure, some persons of rank have been either committed to close prison, or exiled from the kingdom. The Jesuits were not more fortunate in America; for in the month of October, in the foregoing year, an obstinate battle was fought between the united forces of Spain and Portugal, and the Indians of Paraguay, who were under the dominion of the Jesuits: victory at length declared in favour of the two crowns; so that the vanquished were obliged to capitulate, and lay down their arms. As the court of Portugal had made remonstrances to the British ministry against the proceedings of the English squadron under Admiral Boscawen, which had attacked and destroyed some French ships under the Portuguese fort in the bay of Lagos, his Britannick Majesty thought proper to send the Earl of Kinnoul as ambassador extraordinary to Lisbon, where that nobleman made such excuses for the insult of the English Admiral, as entirely removed all misunderstanding between the two crowns; and could not fail of being agreeable to the Portuguese monarch, thus respected, soothed, and deprecated by a mighty nation, in the very zenith of power and prosperity. On the sixth of June, being the birth-day of the King of Portugal, the marriage of his brother Don Pedro with the Princess of Brazil was celebrated in the chapel

of

of the palace where the King resides, to the universal joy of the people. The nuptials were announced to the publick by discharge of cannon, and celebrated with illuminations, and all kinds of rejoicing.

§ XLV. An accident which happened in the Mediterranean had like to have drawn the indignation of the Ottoman Porte on the knights of the order of Malta. A large Turkish ship of the line, mounted with sixty-eight brass cannon, having on board a complement of seven hundred men, besides seventy Christian slaves, under the immediate command of the Turkish Admiral, had, in company with two frigates, five gallies, and other smaller vessels, sailed in June from the Dardanelles; cruised along the coast of Smyrna, Scio, and Trio; and at length anchored in the channel of Strangie, where the Admiral, with four hundred persons, went on shore, on the nineteenth day of September: the Christian slaves, seizing this opportunity, armed themselves with knives, and fell upon the three hundred that remained with such fury and effect, that a great number of the Turks were instantly slain; many leaped overboard into the sea, where they perished; and the rest sued for mercy. The Christians, having thus secured possession of the ship, hoisted sail, and bore away for Malta: which, though chaced by the two frigates, and a Ragusan ship, they reached, by crowding all their canvas, and brought their prize safe into the harbour of Valette, amidst the acclamations of the people. The order of Malta, as a recompence for this signal act of bravery and resolution, assigned to the captors the whole property

of

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of the ship and slaves, together with all the effects on board, including a sum of money, which the Turkish commander had collected by contribution, amounting to a million and a half of florins. The Grand Signior was so enraged at this event, that he disgraced his admiral, and threatened to take vengeance on the order of Malta, for having detained the ship, and countenanced the capture.

§ XLVI. With respect to the dispute which had so long embroiled the northern parts of Europe, the neutral powers seemed as adverse as ever to a participation. The King of Denmark continued to perfect those plans which he had wisely formed for increasing the wealth, and promoting the happiness of his subjects; nor did he neglect any opportunity of improving natural knowledge, for the benefit of mankind in general. He employed men of ability, at his own expence, to travel into foreign countries, and to collect the most curious productions, for the advancement of natural history: he encouraged the liberal and mechanick arts at home, by munificent rewards and peculiar protection: he invited above a thousand foreigners from Germany to become his subjects, and settle in certain districts of Jutland, which had lain waste above three centuries; and they forthwith began to build villages and cultivate the lands, in the dioceses of Wibourg, Arhous, and Ripen. Their travelling expences from Altena to their new settlement were defrayed by the King, who moreover maintained them until the produce of the lands could afford a comfortable subsistence. He likewise bestowed upon each colonist a house, a barn, and a stable, with a certain number of horses and

and cattle. Finally, this generous patriot having visited these new subjects, who received him with unspeakable emotions of joy and affection, he ordered a considerable sum of money to be distributed among them, as an additional mark of his favour. Such conduct in a prince cannot fail to secure the warmest returns of loyalty and attachment in his people: and the execution of such laudable schemes will endear his name to the contemplation of posterity. CHAP. XIII. 1760.

§ XLVII. The Dutch, as usual, persevered in prosecuting every branch of commerce, without being diverted to less profitable schemes of state policy by the insinuations of France, or the remonstrances of Great-Britain. The violation of the peace by their subjects in Bengal was no sooner known at the court of London, than orders were sent to General Yorke, the English ambassador at the Hague, to demand an explanation. He accordingly presented a memorial to the States-General, signifying that their High Mightinesses must doubtless be greatly astonished to hear, by the publick papers, of the irregularities committed by their subjects in the East Indies; but that they would be much more amazed on perusing the piece annexed to his memorial, containing a minute account, specified with the strictest regard to truth, of the irregular conduct observed by the Dutch towards the British subjects in the River of Bengal, at a time when the factors and traders of Holland enjoyed all the sweets of peace, and all the advantages of unmolested commerce; at a time when his Britannick Majesty, from his great regard to their High Mightinesses, carefully avoided giving the

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the least umbrage to the subjects of the United Provinces. He observed that the King his sovereign was deeply affected by those outrageous doings and mischievous designs of the Dutch in the East-Indies, whose aim was to destroy the British settlements in that country; an aim that would have been accomplished, had not the King's victorious arms brought them to reason, and obliged them to sue for an accommodation. He told them his Majesty would willingly believe their High Mightinesses had given no order for proceeding to such extremities, and that the directors of their India Company had no share in the transaction; nevertheless, he (the ambassador) was ordered to demand signal satisfaction, in the name of the King his master: that all who should be found to have shared in the offence so manifestly tending to the destruction of the English settlements in that country, should be exemplarily punished: and that their High Mightinesses should confirm the stipulations agreed upon immediately after the action by the directors of the respective companies, in consideration of which agreement the Dutch ships were restored, after their commanders acknowledged their fault, in owning themselves the aggressors. To this remonstrance the States-General replied, that nothing of what was laid to the charge of their subjects had yet reached their knowledge: but they requested his Britannick Majesty to suspend his judgment until he should be made perfectly acquainted with the grounds of those disputes; and they promised he should have reason to be satisfied with the exemplary punishment that would be inflicted upon all who should be found concerned

concerned in violating the peace between the two nations*. CHAP. XIII.

§ XLVIII. The war in Germany still raged with unrelenting fury, and the mutual rancour of the contending parties seemed to derive fresh force from their mutual disappointments; at least the House of Austria seemed still implacable, and obstinately bent upon terminating the war with the destruction of the Prussian monarch. Her allies, however, seemed less actuated by the spirit of revenge. The French King had sustained so much damage and disgrace in the course of the war, that his resources failed, and his finances fell into disorder; he could no longer afford the subsidies he had promised to different powers; while his subjects clamoured aloud at the burthen of impositions, the ruin of trade, and the repeated dishonour entailed upon the arms of France. The Czarina's zeal for the alliance was evidently cooled by the irregular and defective payments of the subsidies she had stipulated. Perhaps she was disappointed in her hope of conquest, and chagrined to see her armies retire from Germany at the approach of every winter; and the British ministry did not fail to exert all their influence to detach her from the confederacy in which she had embarked. Sweden still languished in an ineffectual parade of hostilities against the House of Brandenburgh; but the French interest began to lose ground in the Diet of that kingdom. The King of Prussia, how- 1760.

* In the month of March the States of Holland and West-Friesland having, after warm debates, agreed to the proposed match between the Princess Caroline, sister to the Prince of Orange, and the Prince of Nassau Weilbourg, the nuptials were solemnized at the Hague with great magnificence.

soever

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soever exhausted in the article of men, betrayed no symptom of apprehension, and made no advance towards a pacification with his adversaries. He had employed the winter in recruiting his armies by every expedient his fertile genius could devise; in levying contributions to reinforce the vast subsidy he received from England, in filling magazines, and making every preparation for a vigorous campaign. In Westphalia, the same foresight and activity were exerted by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, who in the beginning of summer found himself at the head of a very numerous army, paid by Great-Britain, and strengthened by two-and-twenty thousand national troops.

§ XLIX. No alteration in the terms of this alliance was produced by the death of William, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, who breathed his last, in an advanced age, on the twenty-eighth day of January, at Rintelen upon the Weser. He was succeeded in the landgraviate by his son Frederick, whose consort, the Princess Mary, daughter to the King of Great-Britain, now, in quality of Governess of her children, assumed the regency and administration of the country of Hanau-Mutzenberg, by virtue of the settlement made in the lifetime of her father-in-law, and confirmed by her husband. She had for some years been separated from him, and resided with his father, at whose decease she retired with her children to the city of Zell. The present Landgrave, who lived at Magdebourg as Vice-Governor under the King of Prussia, no sooner learned the news of his father's death, than he sent an intimation of it to that Prince and the King of Great-Britain; declaring, at the same

time, that he would scrupulously adhere to the engagements of his predecessor. CHAP. XIII.

§ L. The advances towards a peace, which had been made in the preceding year by the Kings of England and Prussia, in their declaration published at the Hague by Prince Louis of Brunswick, seemed to infuse in neutral powers a good opinion of their moderation. We have already seen that the King of Spain offered his best offices in quality of mediator. When a congress was proposed, the States-General made an offer of Breda, as a place proper for the negociation. The King of Great-Britain, by the mouth of his ambassador, thanked their High Mightinesses for the sincere desire they expressed to put an end to the ravages of war, which had extended desolation over the face of Europe: he readily closed with their gracious offer; and in consequence of his high regard and invariable friendship for their High Mightinesses, wished earnestly that it might be acceptable to the other powers at war. The French King expressed his sentiments nearly to the same purpose. His ambassador declared, that his most Christian Majesty was highly sensible of the offer they had made of Breda for holding the congress; that, in order to give a fresh proof of his sincere desire to increase the good harmony that subsisted between him and the States-General, he accepted their offer with pleasure; but as he could take no step without the concurrence of his high allies, he was obliged to wait for their answer, which could not fail to be favourable, if nothing remained to be settled but the place for holding the congress. King Stanislaus having written a letter to his Bri- 1760.

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tannick Majesty, offering the city of Nancy for the same purpose, he received a civil answer, expressing the King of England's sense of his obliging offer, which however he declined, as a place not conveniently situated for all the powers interested in the great work of pacification. Civilities of the same nature likewise passed between the sovereign of Nancy and the King of Prussia. As the proposals for an accommodation made by the King of England and his allies might have left an unfavourable impression on their adversaries had they been altogether declined, the Court of Vienna was prevailed upon to concur with her allies in a declaration professing their desire of peace; which declaration was delivered on the third day of April, by the Austrian minister residing at the Hague, to his Serene Highness Prince Louis of Brunswick; and a paper of the same nature was also delivered to him separately by the French and Russian Ministers*. These professions, however, did not interrupt the operations of the campaign.

§ LI.

* *A translation of the declaration delivered by the* Austrian *minister residing at the* Hague *to his serene Highness* Prince Louis *of* Brunswick, *in answer to that which his Highness had delivered on the part of his* Britannick Majesty *and the* King of Prussia, *on the 25th of* November 1759, *to the ministers of the belligerent powers.*

Their Britannick and Prussian Majesties having thought proper to make known, by the declaration delivered, on their part, at the Hague, the 25th of November last past, to the ambassadors and ministers of the courts of Vienna, Petersbourgh, and Versailles, residing there,

"That being sincerely desirous of contributing to the re-establishment of the publick tranquillity, they were ready to send plenipotentiaries to the place that shall be judged the most convenient, in order to treat there of this important object with those which the belligerent parties shall think proper to authorise on their side for attaining so salutary an end."

Her

§ LI. Though the French army under the Mareschal Duke de Broglio remained in cantonment in the neighbourhood of Friedberg, and Prince Ferdinand had retired from Corsdoff to Marpurg, where in the beginning of January he established his head-quarters, nevertheless, the winter was by no means inactive. As far back as the twenty-fifth day of December, the Duke de Broglio, having called in his detachments, attempted to surprize the allied army by a force march to Klein-linnes: but finding them prepared to give him a warm reception, nothing but a cannonade ensued, and he retreated to his former quarters. On the twenty-ninth Co- CHAP. XIII. 1760.

Her Majesty the Empress Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, her Majesty the Empress of all the Russias, and his Majesty the most Christian King, equally animated by the desire of contributing to the re-establishment of the publick tranquillity, on a solid and equitable footing, declare in return,

"That his Majesty the Catholick King having been pleased to offer his mediation in the war which had subsisted for some years between France and England; and this war having besides nothing in common with that which the two Empresses, with their allies, have likewise carried on for some years against the King of Prussia;

"His most Christian Majesty is ready to treat of his particular peace with England, through the good offices of his Catholick Majesty, whose mediation he has a pleasure in accepting.

"As to the war which regards directly his Prussian Majesty, their Majesties, the Empress Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, the Empress of all the Russias, and the most Christian King, are disposed to agree to the appointing the congress proposed. But as, by virtue of their treaties, they cannot enter into any engagement relating to peace but in conjunction with their allies, it will be necessary, in order that they may be enabled to explain themselves definitively upon that subject, that their Britannick and Prussian Majesties should previously be pleased to cause their invitation to a congress to be made to all the powers that are directly engaged in war against the King of Prussia; and namely, to his Majesty the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, as likewise to his Majesty the King of Sweden, who ought specifically to be invited to the future congress."

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lonel Luckner, at the head of the Hanoverian hunters, fell in with a detachment of the enemy, consisting of four hundred men, under the command of Count Muret. These he attacked with such vigour, that the Count was made prisoner, and all his party either killed or taken, except two-and twenty, who escaped. On the third day of January, the Marquis de Vogue attacked the town of Herborn, which he carried, and took a small detachment of the Allies who were posted there. At the same time the Marquis Dauvet made himself master of Dillembourg, the garrison of the allied troops being obliged to retire in the castle, where they were closely besieged. Prince Ferdinand no sooner understood their situation, than he began his march with a strong detachment for their relief, on the seventh day of the month, when he attacked and totally defeated the besiegers, took seven hundred prisoners, including forty officers, with seven pair of colours, and two pieces of cannon. On that very day, the Highlanders, under Major Keith, supported by the hussars of Luckner, who commanded the whole detachment, attacked the village of Eybach, where Beaufremont's regiment of dragoons was posted on the side of Dillembourg, and routed them with great slaughter. The greater part of the regiment was killed, and many prisoners were taken, together with two hundred horses, and all their baggage. The Highlanders distinguished themselves on this occasion by their intrepidity, which was the more remarkable, as they were no other than raw recruits, just arrived from their own country,

try, and altogether unacquainted with discipline. On the eighth day of January, M. de St. Germain advanced on the left of the Allies with the grenadiers of the French army, supported by eight battalions, and a body of dragoons: but he was encountered by the duke of Holstein, at the head of a strong detachment, in the neighbourhood of Ersdorff, who by dint of a furious cannonade, obliged him to retreat with precipitation. After this attempt the French parties disappeared, and their army retired into winter-quarters, in and about Franckfort on the Maine; while Prince Ferdinand quartered the Allies at Cassel, Paderborn, Munster, and Osnabruck; this last place being allotted to the British troops, as being the nearest to Embden, where the reinforcements from Britain were to be landed. In the beginning of February, the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, with the detachment of the allied army under his command, began his march from Chemnitz in Saxony for Westphalia, where he safely arrived, after having assisted at a long conference in Hamelen, with his father the reigning Duke, his uncle Prince Ferdinand, and some principal members of the regency of Hanover.

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§ LII. The French General continued to send out detachments to beat up the quarters of the Allies, and lay their towns under contribution. In the beginning of March the Marquis de Blaisel marched at the head of two thousand four hundred men from Giessen, where he commanded, to Marpurg, forced the gates of the town, and compelled the garrison of the Allies to take shelter in the castle. As he could not pretend to undertake the

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the siege of the fortress, by the fire of which he was exceedingly galled, he demanded of the town a contribution of one hundred thousand florins, and carried some of the magistrates along with him as hostages for the payment of this imposition. He afterwards appeared at Hombourg, Alsfeldt, and Hartzberg, the frontier posts of the Allies; but did not think proper to attack either, because he perceived that measures were taken for his reception. The French, with all their boasted politeness and humanity, are sometimes found as brutal and rapacious as the most barbarous enemy. On pretence of taking umbrage at the town of Hanau-Muntzenberg for having, without their permission, acknowledged the regency of the landgraviate of Hesse Cassel, they, in the month of February, ordered the magistrates of that place to pay within the term of twenty-four hours, the sum of seven hundred and fifty thousand livres, on pain of being subjected to plunder. This order was signified by the Prince de Robecq; to whom the magistrates represented the impossibility of raising such a sum, as the country was totally exhausted, and their credit absolutely destroyed, in consequence of their inability to pay the interest of the capitals negociated in the course of the preceding year. He still insisted upon their finding the money before night; they offered to pay eighty thousand florins, which they raised with the utmost difficulty, and begged the payment of the rest might be postponed for a few weeks: but their request was rejected with disdain. The garrison was reinforced by two battalions, and four squadrons dispersed in the principal squares and markets

kets of the city, and the gates were shut. They even planted cannon in the streets, and tarred matches were fixed to many houses, in order to intimidate the inhabitants. These expedients proving ineffectual, detachments of grenadiers entered the houses of the principal magistrates and merchants, from whence they removed all their best effects to the town-hall, where they were kept in deposit, until they were redeemed with all the money that could possibly be raised. This exaction, so little to the honour of a civilized nation, the French minister declared to the Diet at Ratisbon was agreeable to the instructions of his Most Christain Majesty.

§ LIII. By way of retaliation for the cruelty practised at Hanau, a detachment of the allied army under General Luckner was sent to raise contributions in Fulda, and actually carried off hostages from that city; but retired before a strong body of the enemy who took possession of the place. From hence the French marched, in their turn, to plunder the towns of Hirchfeldt and Vacha. Accordingly, they appeared at Vacha, situated on the frontiers of Hesse, and formed the head of the chain of cantonments which the Allies had on the Werra. This place was attacked with such vigour, that Colonel Freytag, who commanded the post, was obliged to abandon the town: but he maintained himself on a rising ground in the neighbourhood, where he amused the enemy until two battalions of grenadiers came to his assistance. Thus reinforced, he pursued the French for three leagues, and drove them with considerable loss from Geissa, where they had resolved

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solved to fix their quarters. These skirmishes happened in the beginning of May, when the grand armies were just in motion to begin the campaign.

§ LIV. By this time the forces under the Mareschal Duke de Broglio were augmented to one hundred thousand; while the Count de St. Germain commanded a separate army on the Rhine, consisting of thirty thousand men, assembled from the quarters of Dusseldorp, Cologn, Cleves, and Wesel. The second corps was intended to divide the allied army, which, by such a division, would be considerably weakened; and the French court threatened to form a third army under the Prince de Soubise: but this did not appear. The Duke de Broglio was in such high favour with the French ministry at this juncture, that he was promoted over the heads of many old Generals, who now demanded and obtained their dismission; and every step was taken to render the campaign glorious to this admired commander: but, notwithstanding all their care, and his own exertion, he found it impossible to take the field early in the season, from want of forage for his cavalry. While his quarters were established at Franckfort, his troops were plentifully supplied with all sorts of provision from the Upper Rhine; but this convenience depended upon his being master of the course of the river: but he could not move from this position without forfeiting the advantage, and providing magazines for the use of his forces; so that he was obliged to lie inactive until he could have the benefit of green forage in his march. The same inconveniences operated

operated more powerfully on the side of Prince Ferdinand, who being in an exhausted country, was obliged to fall back as far as Paderborn, and draw his supplies from Hamburgh and Bremen on the Elbe and the Weser. By this time, however, he had received a reinforcement of British troops from Embden, under the direction of Major General Griffin; and before the end of the campaign, the forces of that nation in Germany were augmented to five-and-twenty thousand; a greater number than had served at one time upon the continent for two centuries. The allied army marched from their cantonments on the fifth day of May, and proceeded by the way of Paderborn to Fritzlar, where, on the twentieth, they encamped: but part of the troops left in the bishoprick of Munster, under General Sporcken, were ordered to form a camp at Dulmen, to make head against the French corps commanded by the Count de St. Germain.

§ LV. General Imhoff was sent with a detachment to Kirchayn on the Orme; and General Gilsoe, with another corps, advanced to the neighbourhood of Hirchfeldt on the Fulda. The former of these having ordered Colonel Luckner to scour the country with a body of hussars, that officer, on the twenty-fourth of May, fell in with a French patrole, which gave the alarm at Burtzbach; when the garrison of that place, amounting to five hundred picquets, under General Waldemar, fled with great precipitation. Being, however, pursued, and overtaken near a wood, they were routed and dispersed. Colonel Luckner, entering Butzbach, found a considerable quantity of

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of forage, flour, wine, and equipage, belonging to the fugitives. What he could not carry off he distributed among the poor inhabitants, and returned to General Imhoff's camp at Ameneburg, with about an hundred prisoners. This excursion alarmed the enemy to such a degree, that their whole army was put in motion; and the Duke de Broglio in person advanced with a large body of troops as far as Friedberg: but understanding the Allies had not quitted their camp at Fritzlar, he returned to Franckfort, after having cantoned that part of his army in the Wetteraw. This alarm was not so mortifying as the secession of the Wirtemberg troops amounting to ten thousand men, commanded by their Duke in person, who left the French army in disgust, and returned to his own country. The Imperial army, under the Prince de Deuxponts, quartered at Bamberg, began their march to Naumberg on the twentieth of May; but one of their detachments of cavalry having received a check from a body of Prussians near Lutzen, they fell back; and on the fourth day of June encamped at Litchtenfels upon the Maine. The small detachments of the grand armies, as well as those belonging to the bodies commanded by General Sporcken and the Count de St. Germain, in the neighbourhood of Dusseldorp, skirmished with various success. The Hereditary Prince of Brunswick being detached from the allied army, with some battalions of grenadiers, and two regiments of English dragoons, advanced to the country of Fulda, where he was joined by the troops under General Gilsoe, and atchieved some inconsiderable exploits, particularly at Hosenfeldt

senfeldt and Zielbach, where he surprised and took divers parties of the enemy. CHAP. XIII.

§ LVI. By the twenty-fourth of June, Prince Ferdinand, quitting his situation at Fritzlar, marched to Frillendorf, and encamped on the hills between Ziegenheim and Freyso; General Imhoff commanded at a small distance on the right, and the Hereditary Prince now returned from Fulda, being posted on the left of the army. In the mean time, the Duke de Broglio, assembling his forces between Merlau and Laubach, advanced to Neustadt, where he encamped on the twenty-eighth day of the month, and at the same time occupied a strong post at Wassemburg. His intention was to penetrate through the country of Hesse into Hanover, and make himself entirely master of that electorate. With this view he resolved to effect a junction with the Count de St. Germain, whom he directed to advance towards Brilau and Corbach; while he himself, decamping from Neustadt on the eighth day of July, advanced by the way of Frankenburg. Prince Ferdinand having received intelligence that the Count de St. Germain was in motion, began his march from Ziegenheim, and on the ninth day of July reached the heights of Brunau, in the neighbourhood of Wildungen. 1760.

§ LVII. The Hereditary Prince, at the head of the advanced corps, reinforced with some battalions and squadrons under Major-General Griffin, was sent forward to Saxenhausen, whither the army followed the next morning. The Hereditary Prince continuing to advance, found the enemy already formed at Corbach; but judging their

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their whole force did not exceed ten thousand infantry and seventeen squadrons, and being impelled by the impetuosity of his own courage, he resolved to give them battle. He accordingly attacked them about two in the afternoon, and the action became very warm and obstinate; but the enemy being continually reinforced with fresh battalions, and having the advantage of a numerous artillery, all the Prince's efforts were ineffectual. Prince Ferdinand, being at too great a distance to sustain him, sent him an order to rejoin the army which was by this time formed at Saxenhausen. He forthwith made dispositions for a retreat, which however was attended with great confusion. The enemy observing the disorder of the allied troops, plied their artillery with redoubled diligence, while a powerful body of their cavalry charged with great vivacity. In all likelihood the whole infantry of the Allies would have been cut off, had not the Hereditary Prince made a diversion in their favour, by charging in person at the head of the British dragoons, who acted with their usual gallantry and effect. This respite enabled the infantry to accomplish their retreat to Saxenhausen; but they lost above five hundred men and fifteen pieces of cannon. General Count Kielmansegge, Major-General Griffin, and Major Hill, of Bland's dragoons, distinguished themselves by their conduct and intrepidity on this occasion. The Hereditary Prince exposed his life in the hottest part of the action, and received a slight wound in the shoulder, which gave him far less disturbance than he felt from the chagrin and mortification produced by his defeat.

§ LVIII.

§ LVIII. Many days, however, did not pass before he found an opportunity of retaliating this disgrace. Prince Ferdinand, receiving advice that a body of the enemy, commanded by Major-General Glaubitz, had advanced on the left of the Allies to Ziegenheim, detached the Hereditary Prince to oppose them, at the head of six battalions of Hanoverians and Hessians, with Elliot's regiment of English light-horse, Luckner's hussars, and two brigades of chasseurs; on the sixteenth day of the month, he engaged the enemy near the village of Exdorf, and a very warm action ensued, in which Elliot's regiment signalized themselves remarkably by repeated charges*. At length victory declared for the Allies. Five battalions of the enemy, including the commander in chief and the Prince of Anhalt Cothen, were taken, with six pieces of cannon, all their arms, baggage, and artillery. During these transactions, the Mareschal Duke de Broglio remained encamped on the heights of Corbach. He had, in advancing from Franckfort, left detachments to reduce the castles of Marpourg and Dillenbourgh, which were occupied by the Allies, and they fell into his hands, the garrisons of both being obliged to surrender prisoners of war. These were but inconsiderable conquests; nor did the progress of the French General equal the idea which had been formed of his talents and activity. The Count de St. Germain, who was his senior officer, and believed by

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* Though this was the first time that Elliot's regiment appeared in the field, it performed wonders. They charged five different times, and broke through the enemy at every charge; but these exploits they did not achieve without sustaining a heavy loss in officers, men, and horses.

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many to be at least his equal in capacity, having now joined his corps to the grand army, and conceiving disgust at his being obliged to serve under the Duke de Broglio, relinquished his command, in which he was succeeded by the Chevalier de Muy. At the same time, the Marquis de Voyer and the Count de Luc, two Generals of experience and reputation, quitted the army, and returned to France, actuated by the same motives.

§ LIX. The allied army having moved their camp from Saxenhausen to the village of Kalle near Cassel, remained in that situation till the thirtieth day of July, when the troops were again put in motion. The Chevalier de Muy, having passed the Dymel at Stradtbergen, with the reserve of the French army, amounting to thirty-five thousand men, and extending this body down the banks of the river, in order to cut off the communication of the Allies with Westphalia: while the Duke de Broglio marched up with his main wing to their camp at Kalle, and Prince Xavier of Saxony, who commanded their reserve on the left, advanced towards Cassel; Prince Ferdinand, leaving General Kielmansegge with a body of troops for the defence of the city, decamped in the night of the thirtieth, and passed the Dymel without loss between Gibenau and Dringleberg. The Hereditary Prince, who had the preceding day passed the same river, in order to reinforce General Spoecken, who was posted near Corbeke, now reconnoitred the position of the enemy, and found them possessed of a very advantageous camp between Warbourg and Ochsendorff. Prince Ferdinand having resolved to attack them, ordered the Hereditary Prince

Prince and General Sporcken to turn their left, while himself advanced against their front, with the main body of the army. The enemy was accordingly attacked almost at the same instant, both in flank and in rear, with equal impetuosity and success. As the infantry of the allied army could not march fast enough to charge at the same time, the Marquis of Granby was ordered to advance with the cavalry of the right; and the brigade of English artillery commanded by Captain Phillips, made such expedition, that they were up in time to second the attack in a most surprising manner. The French cavalry, though very numerous, retired at the approach of the Marquis, except three squadrons, who stood the charge, and were immediately broken. Then the English horse fell upon the enemy's infantry, which suffered greatly, while the town of Warbourg was assulted by the Britannick legion. The French, finding themselves hard pressed on both flanks, as well as in front and rear, retired precipitately, with considerable damage, occasioned chiefly by the British cannon and dragoons, and many were drowned in attempting to ford the Dymel. The battalion of Maxwell, and a brigade under Colonel Beckwith, composed of grenadiers and Highlanders, distinguished themselves remarkably on this occasion. The enemy left about fifteen hundred men killed or wounded, on the field of battle; with some colours, and ten pieces of cannon; and about the same number were made prisoners. Monsieur de Muy lay all night under arms, on the heights of Volk-Missen, from whence he next day retired towards Wolfshagen. On the evening of the

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battle the Marquis of Granby received orders to pass the river in pursuit of them, with twelve British battalions, and ten squadrons, and encamped at Wilda, about four miles from Warbourg, the heights of which were possessed by the enemy's grand army*. By this success, Prince Ferdinand was enabled to maintain his communications with Westphalia, and keep the enemy at a distance from the

* *Copy of a Letter from the* Marquis of Granby, *to the* Earl of Holdernesse.

MY LORD,

IT is with the greatest satisfaction that I have the honour of acquainting your Lordship of the success of the Hereditary Prince yesterday morning.

General Sporcken's corps marched from the camp at Kalle to Liebenau, about four in the afternoon of the twenty-ninth: the Hereditary Prince followed the same evening with a body of troops, among which were the two English battalions of grenadiers, the two of Highlanders, and four squadrons of dragoons, Cope's and Conway's.

The army was under arms all day on the thirtieth, and, about eleven at night, marched off in six columns, to Liebenau. About five the next morning, the whole army assembled, and formed on the heights near Corbeke. The Hereditary Prince was, at this time, marching in two columns, in order to turn the enemy's left flank; which he did by marching to Donhelbourg, leaving Klein-Eder on his left, and forming in two lines, with the left towards Dossel, and his right near Grimbeck, opposite to the left flank of the enemy whose position was with the left to the high hill near Offendorff, and their right to Warbourg, into which place they had flung Fischer's corps. The Hereditary Prince immediately attacked the enemy's flank, and after a very sharp dispute, obliged them to give way, and, by a continual fire, kept forcing them to fall back upon Warbourg. The army was at this time marching with the greatest diligence to attack the enemy in front; but the infantry could not get up in time: General Waldegrave, at the head of the British, pressed their march as much as possible: no troops could shew more eagerness to get up than they shewed. Many of the men, from the heat of the weather, and over-straining themselves to get on through morassy and very difficult ground, suddenly dropt down on their march.

General

the heart of Hanover; but to these objects he sacrificed the country of Cassel; for Prince Xavier of Saxony at the head of a detached body, much more numerous than that which was left under General Kielmansegge, advanced towards Cassel, and made himself master of that city; then he reduced Munden, Gottingen, and Eimbeck in the electorate of Hanover. All that Prince Ferdinand

General Mostyn who was at the head of the British cavalry that was formed on the right of our infantry on the other side of a large wood, upon receiving the Duke's orders to come up with the cavalry as far as possible, made so much expedition, bringing them up at full trot, though the distance was near five miles, that the British cavalry had the happiness to arrive in time to share the glory of the day, having successfully charged several times both the enemy's cavalry and infantry.

I should do injustice to the general officers, to every officer and private man of the cavalry, if I did not beg your Lordship would assure his Majesty that nothing could exceed their gallant behaviour on that occasion.

Captain Phillips made so much expedition with his cannon, as to have an opportunity, by a severe cannonade, to oblige those who had passed the Dymel, and were formed on the other side, to retire with the utmost precipitation.

I received his Serene Highness's orders yesterday, in the evening, to pass the river after them, with the twelve British battalions, and ten squadrons, and am now encamped upon the heights of Wilda, about four miles from Warbourg, on the heights of which their grand army is encamped.

M. de Muy is now retiring from the heights of Volk-Missen, where he lay under arms last night, towards Wolfshagen. I cannot give you Lordship an account of the loss on either side. Captain Faucitt, whom I send off with this, shall get all the intelligence he can upon this head, before he sets off.

I am, &c.

Saturday morning, six o'clock. GRANBY.

P. S.—As I had not an opportunity of sending off Captain Faucitt so soon as I intended, I opened my letter, to acquaint your Lordship that I have just joined the grand army with my detachment.

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could do, considering how much he was outnumbered by the French, was to secure posts and passes with a view to retard their progress, and employ detachments to harass and surprise their advanced parties. In a few days after the action at Warbourg, General Luckner repulsed a French detachment which had advanced as far as Eimbeck, and surprised another at Nordheim. At the same period, Colonel Donap, with a body of the allied army, attacked a French corps of two thousand men, posted in the wood of Sababourg, to preserve the communication between their grand army and their troops on the other side of the Weser; and, notwithstanding the strength of their situation, drove them from their posts, with the loss of five hundred men, either killed or made prisoners; but this advantage was overbalanced by the reduction of Ziegenheim, garrisoned by seven hundred men of the allied army, who, after a vigorous resistance, were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

§ LX. On the first day of August, Prince Ferdinand being encamped at Buhne, received intelligence that a considerable body of the enemy, amounting to upwards of twenty thousand men, were in motion to make a general forage in the neighbourhood of Geismar. He passed the Dymel early in the morning, with a body of troops, and some artillery, and posted them in such an advantageous manner, as to render the enemy's attempt totally ineffectual, although the foragers were covered with great part of their army. On the same morning the Hereditary Prince set out on an expedition to beat up the quarters of a French detachment.

ment. Being informed that the volunteers of Clermont and Dauphine, to the number of one thousand, horse and foot, were cantoned at Zierenberg, at a small distance from the French camp at Dierenberg, and passed their time in the most careless security, he advanced towards them from his camp at Warbourg, within a league of their cantonment, without seeing any of their posts, or meeting with any of their patroles; a circumstance that encouraged him to beat up their quarters by surprise: for this service he pitched upon five battalions, with a detachment of Highlanders, and eight regiments of dragoons. Leaving their tents standing, they began their march at eight in the evening, and passed the Dymel near Warbourg. About a league on the other side of the Dymel, at the village of Witzen, they were joined by the light troops under Major Bulow; and now the disposition was made both for entering the town, and securing a retreat, in case of being repulsed. When they were within two miles of Zierenberg, and in sight of the fires of the enemy's grand guard, the grenadiers of Maxwell, the regiment of Kingsley, and the Highlanders, advanced by three separate roads and marched in profound silence; at length, the noise of their feet alarmed the French, who began to fire; when the grenadiers proceeded at a round pace with unloaded firelocks, pushed the picquets, slew the guard at the gate, and rushing into the town, drove every thing before them with incredible impetuosity. The attack was so sudden, and the surprise so great, that the French had not time to assemble in a considerable number; but they began to fire from the

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windows; and in so doing, exasperated the allied troops, who, bursting into the houses, slaughtered them without mercy. Having remained in the place from two till three in the morning, they retreated with about four hundred prisoners, including forty officers, and brought off two pieces of artillery. This nocturnal adventure, in which the British troops displayed equal courage and activity, was achieved with very little loss: but after all, it deserves no other appellation than that of a partizan exploit; for it was attended with no sort of advantage to the allied army.

§ LXI. Considering the superiority of the French army, we cannnot account for the little progress made by the Duke de Broglio, who, according to our conception, might either have given battle to the Allies with the utmost probability of success, or penetrated into the heart of Hanover, the conquest of which seemed to be the principal object of the French ministry. Instead of striking an important stroke, he retired from Immenhausen towards Cassel, where he fortified his camp as if he had thought himself in danger of being attacked; and the war was carried on by small detachments. Major Bulow, being sent with a strong party from the camp of the allied army at Buline, surprised the town of Marpurg, destroyed the French ovens, and brought off a considerable quantity of stores and baggage with some prisoners. He met with the same success at Butzbach, where he surprised and took two companies belonging to the regiment of Raugrave, and retired with his body to Frankenber, where he joined Colonel Forsen. On the twelfth day of September they

they made a movement towards Frankenau; and M. de Stainville, who was posted with a body of French troops at Mardenhagen, advanced to check their progress. He came up with their rear in the neighbourhood of Munden: and attacked them in passing the river Orck with such vigour, that Forsen, with some of his cavalry, was taken, and Bulom obliged to abandon some pieces of cannon. The action was just determined, when this last was reinforced by the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who had made a forced march of five German miles, which had fatigued the troops to such a degree, that he deferred his attack till next morning; but in the mean time, M. de Stainville retired towards Franckenberg. The Hanoverian General Wangenheim, at the head of four battalions and six squadrons, had driven the enemy from the defiles of Soheite, and encamped at Lawenthagen; but, being attacked by a superior number, he was obliged, in his turn, to give way, and his retreat was not effected without the loss of two hundred men, and some pieces of artillery. When the enemy retired, General Wangenheim repassed the Weser, and occupied his former situation at Ussar. Meanwhile, General Luckner gained an advantage over a detachment of French cavalry near Norten. Prince Ferdinand, when, Mareschal Broglio quitted his camp at Immenhausen, made a motion of his troops, and established his headquarters at Geismar-wells, the residence of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; from thence, however, he transferred them, about the latter end of September, to Ovilgune, on the Westphalian side of the Dymel.

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§ LXII.

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§ LXII. Such was the position of the two opposite grand armies, when the world was surprised by an expedition to the Lower Rhine, made by the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick. Whether this excursion was intended to hinder the French from reinforcing their army in Westphalia; or to cooperate in the Low Countries with the armament now ready equipped in the ports of England; or to gratify the ambition of a young Prince, overboiling with courage, and glowing with the desire of conquest—we cannot explain to the satisfaction of the reader: certain it is, the Austrian Netherlands were at this juncture entirely destitute of troops, except the French garrisons of Ostend and Nieuport, which were weak and inconsiderable. Had ten thousand English troops been landed on the coast of Blankenburg, they might have taken possession of Bruges, Ghent, Brussels, and Antwerp, without resistance, and joined the Hereditary Prince in the heart of the country; in that case he would have found himself at the head of thirty thousand men, and might have made such a diversion in favour of Hanover, as to transfer the seat of war from Westphalia into Flanders. The Empress-Queen might, indeed, have complained of this invasion, as the formality of declaring war against her had not been observed by Great-Britain; but considering that she was the declared enemy of Hanover, and had violated the barrier treaty, in establishing which the kingdom of Great-Britain had lavished away so much blood and treasure, a step of this kind, we apprehend, might have been taken, without any imputation of perfidy or injustice. Whatever the motives of the Prince's

expedition

expedition might have been, he certainly quitted the grand army of the Allies in the month of September, and traversing Westphalia, with twenty battalions, and as many squadrons, appeared on the Lower Rhine, marching by Schermbeck and Dusseldorp. On the twenty-ninth day of the month he sent a large detachment over the river at Roeroot, which surprised part of the French partisan Fischer's corps at Rhynberg, and scoured the country. Next day, other parties, crossing at Rees and Emmerick, took possession of some redoubts which the French had raised along the bank of the river; and here they found a number of boats, sufficient to transport the rest of the forces. Then the Prince advanced to Cleves; and at his approach the French garrison, consisting of five hundred men, under the command of M. de Barral, retired into the castle, which, however, they did not long defend; for on the third day of October they capitulated, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war, after having in vain endeavoured to obtain more favourable conditions.

§ LXIII. A more important object was Wesel, which the Prince invested and began to besiege in form. The approaches were made on the right of the Rhine, while the Prince in person remained on the left, to cover the siege; and kept his communication open with the other side, by a bridge above, and another below the place. He had hoped to carry it by a vigorous exertion, without the formality of a regular siege, but he met with a warmer reception than he expected; and his operations were retarded by heavy rains, which, by swelling the river, endangered his bridges, and

laid

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laid his trenches under water. The difficulties and delays occasioned by this circumstance entirely frustrated his design. The French, being made acquainted with his motions, were not slow in taking measures to anticipate his success. M. de Castries was detached after him with thirty battalions, and thirty-eight squadrons; and, by forced marches, arrived on the fourteenth day of October at Rhynberg, where the Prince's light troops were posted. These he attacked immediately, and compelled to abandon the post, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Prince, who commanded in person, and appeared in the warmest parts of this short but sanguinary affair. The enemy, leaving five battalions, with some squadrons, at Rhynberg, marched by the left, and encamped behind the convent of Campen. The Prince, having received intimation that M. de Castries was not yet joined by some reinforcements that were on the march, determined to be beforehand with them, and attempt that very night to surprise him in his camp. For this purpose he began his march at ten in the evening, after having left four battalions, and five squadrons, under General Bock, with instructions to observe Rhynberg, and attack that post, in case the attempt on Campen should succeed. Before the allied forces could reach the enemy's camp, they were under the necessity of overpowering Fischer's corps of irregulars, which occupied the convent of Campen, at the distance of half a league in their front. This service occasioned some firing, the noise of which alarmed the French army. Their commander formed them with great expedition,

tion, and posted them in a wood, where they were immediately attacked, and at first obliged to give ground; but they soon retrieved all they had lost, and sustained without flinching an unceasing fire of musquetry, from five in the morning till nine at night, when they reaped the fruits of their perseverance. The Hereditary Prince, whose horse was killed under him, seeing no prospect of success in prolonging an action which had already cost him a considerable number of men, thought proper to give orders for a retreat, which was not effected without confusion, and left the field of battle to the enemy. His loss, on this occasion, did not fall short of sixteen hundred choice men, killed, wounded, and taken; and this loss fell chiefly on the troops of Great-Britain, who were always found in the foremost ranks of danger. All the officers, both of infantry and dragoons, distinguished themselves remarkably, and many were dangerously wounded. Among these, the nation regretted the loss of Lord Downe, whose wounds proved mortal: he was a young nobleman of spirit, who had lately embraced a military life, though he was not regularly trained in the service.

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§ LXIV. Next day, which was the sixteenth of October, the enemy attacked an advanced body of the Allies, which was posted in a wood before Elverick, and extended along the Rhine. The firing of cannon and musquetry was maintained till night. Meanwhile, a column of the French infantry, commanded by M. de Cabot, marched through Walach, and took post among the thickets, at the distance of a quarter of a league, in the front

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front of the Prince's army. By this time the Rhine was so much swelled by the rains, and the banks of it were overflowed in such a manner, that it was necessary to repair, and move lower down, the bridge which had been thrown over that river. This work was accordingly performed in the presence of the enemy; and the Prince, passing without molestation, proceeded to Bruymen, where he fixed his head-quarters. His passing the Rhine so easily, under the eye of a victorious army so much superior to him in number, may be counted among the fortunate incidents of his life. Such was the issue of an expedition which exposed the projector of it to the imputation of temerity. Whatever his aim might have been, besides the reduction of Wesel, with the strength of which he did not seem to have been very well acquainted, he certainly miscarried in his design; and his miscarriage was attended with a very considerable loss of troops occasioned not only by the action, but also by the diseases engendered from the wet weather, the fatigue of long marches, and the want of proper conveniences, not to mention the enormous expence in contingencies incurred by this fruitless undertaking.

§ LXV. In the month of November, while he lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Schermbeck, a body of the enemy attempted to beat up his quarters: having received intimation of their design, he immediately called in his advanced posts, and made a disposition for giving them a proper reception. He abandoned the tents that were in the front of his camp, and posted his infantry in ambuscade behind those that were in the rear:

rear: at the same time he ordered some regiments of horse and hussars to fetch a compass, and fall upon the back of the enemy. This stratagem succeeded to his wish. The French detachment, believing the Allies had actually abandoned their camp, began to pillage the tents in the utmost disorder: then the infantry sallied from the place where they were concealed, and fell upon them with great impetuosity: the artillery opened, and the cavalry charged them in flank. In a word, of twelve hundred who marched from Wesel on this expedition, scarce two hundred escaped. CHAP. XIII. 1760.

§ LXVI. The Duke de Broglio endeavoured, by sundry means, to take advantage of the allied army on the other side of the Weser, thus weakened by the absence of the troops under the Hereditary Prince; but he found Prince Ferdinand too vigilant to be surprised, and too strongly situated to be attacked with any prospect of success. He therefore contented himself with ravaging the country by detachments; he sent M. de Stainville, with a considerable body of forces, to penetrate into the heart of Hanover; and on the fifteenth day of September, that officer falling in with a detachment of the Allies, commanded by Major Bulow, attacked them near the abbey of Schaken. After a warm and obstinate engagement, they were defeated, and driven to Bulemont, with the loss of their cannon, baggage, and a good number of men, who fell into the hands of the victors. After this exploit, M. de Stainville advanced to Halberstadt, and demanded of that capital a contribution of one million five hundred thousand livres: but the citizens had been so drained by former exactions,

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exactions, that they could not raise above thirty thousand: for the remainder the French partizan took hostages, with whom he returned to the grand army encamped at Cassel, from whence they in a little time fell back as far as Gottingen.

§ LXVII. As the enemy retreated, Prince Ferdinand advanced as far as Hurste, where he established his head-quarters about the latter end of November. While he remained in this position, divers skirmishes happened in the neighbourhood of Gottingen. Major-General Breidenbach, at the head of two regiments of Hanoverian and Brunswick guards, with a detachment of cavalry, attacked, on the twenty-ninth day of November, the French post at Heydemunden, upon the river Worrau. This he carried, took possession of the town, which the enemy hastily abandoned. Part of their detachment crossed the river in boats; the rest threw themselves into an entrenchment that covered the passage, which the allies endeavoured to force in several unsuccessful attempts, galled as they were by the fire of the enemy's redoubts on the other side of the river. At length M. Breidenbach was obliged to desist, and fall back into the town; from whence he retired at midnight, after having sustained considerable damage. Prince Ferdinand had it very much at heart to drive the French from Gottingen, and accordingly invested that city; but the French garrison, which was numerous and well provided, made such a vigorous defence, as baffled all the endeavours of the Allies, who were moreover impeded by the rainy weather, which, added to other considerations, prevented them from undertaking

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the siege in form. Nevertheless, they kept the place blocked up from the twenty-second day of November to the twelfth of the following month; when the garrison, in a desperate sally, took one of their principal posts, and compelled them to raise the blockade. About the middle of December, Prince Ferdinand retired into winter quarters; he himself residing at Uslar, and the English troops being cantoned in the bishoprick of Paderborne. Thus the enemy were left in possession of Hesse, and the whole country eastward of the Weser, to the frontiers of the electorate of Hanover. If the allied army had not been weakened for the sake of a rash, ill concerted, and unsuccessful expedition to the Lower Rhine, in all probability the French would have been obliged to abandon the footing they had gained in the course of this campaign; and in particular to retreat from Gottingen, which they now maintained and fortified with great diligence and circumspection.

CHAP. XIV.

§ I. *Exploit of the Swedes in Pomerania.* § II. *Skirmishes between the Prussians and Austrians in Saxony.* § III. *Position of the armies in Saxony and Silesia.* § IV. *General Laudohn defeats General Fouquet, and reduces Glatz.* § V. *And then undertakes the siege of Breslau, which is relieved by Prince Henry of Prussia.* § VI. *The King of Prussia makes an unsuccessful attempt upon Dresden.* § VII. *He marches into Silesia.* § VIII. *Defeats General Laudohn, and raises the blockade of Schweidnitz.* § IX. *Action between General Hulsen and the imperial army in Saxony.* § X. *Dangerous situation of the Prussian Monarch.* § XI. *The Russians and Austrians make an irruption into Brandenburgh, and possess themselves of Berlin.* § XII. *The King of Prusia defeats the Austrians at Torgau.* § XIII. *Both armies go into quarters of cantonment.* § XIV. *The Diets of Poland and Sweden assembled.* § XV. *Intimation given by the King of Prussia to the States of Westphalia.* § XVI. *King of Poland's remonstrance.* § XVII. *Reduction of Pondicherry.* § XVIII. *Part of the British squadron wrecked in a storm.* § XIX. *Death of King George* II. § XX. *His character.* § XXI. *Recapitulation of the principal events of his reign.* § XXII. *His death universally lamented.* § XXIII. *Account of the commerce of Great-Britain.* § XXIV. *State of religion and philosophy.* § XXV. *Fanaticism.* § XXVI. *Metaphysicks and medicine.* § XXVII. *Mechanicks.* § XXVIII. *Genius.*

Genius. § XXIX. *Musick.* § XXX. *Painting and sculpture.*

§ I. THE King of Prussia, after all his labours, notwithstanding the great talents he had displayed, and the incredible efforts he had made, still found himself surrounded by his enemies, and in danger of being crushed by their closing, and contracting their circle. Even the Swedes, who had languished so long, seemed to be roused to exertion in Pomerania, during the severity of the winter season. The Prussian General Manteuffel had, on the twentieth day of January passed the river Peene, overthrown the advanced posts of the enemy at Ziethen, and penetrated as far as the neighbourhood of Griessewalde; but finding the Swedes on their guard, he returned to Anclam, where his head quarters were established. This insult was soon retaliated with interest. On the twenty-eighth day of the month, at five in the morning, a body of Swedes attacked the Prussian troops posted in the suburbs of Anclam, on the other side of the Peene, and drove them into the city, which they entered pell-mell. General Mauteuffel, being alarmed, endeavoured to rally the troops; but was wounded and taken, with about two hundred men, and three pieces of cannon. The victors, having achieved this exploit, returned to their own quarters. As for the Russian army, which had wintered on the other side of the Vistula, the season was pretty far advanced before it could take the field; though General Tottleben was detached from it, about the beginning of June, at the head of ten thou-

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sand Cossacks, and other light troops, with which he made an irruption into Pomerania, and established his head-quarters at Belgard.

§ II. At the beginning of the campaign the King of Prussia's chief aim was to take measures for the preservation of Silesia, the conquest of which seemed to be the principal object with the court of Vienna. While the Austrian army, under Marshal Count Daun, lay strongly entrenched in the neighbourhood of Dresden, the King of Prussia had endeavoured, in the month of December, to make him quit that advantageous situation, by cutting off his provisions, and making an irruption into Bohemia. For these purposes he had taken possession of Dippeswalde, Maxen, and Pretchendorff, as if he intended to enter Bohemia by the way of Passberg: but this scheme being found impracticable, he returned to his camp at Freyberg; and in January the Prussian and Austrian armies were cantoned so near each other, that daily skirmishes were fought with various success. The head of the Prussian camp was formed by a body of four thousand men under General Zettwitz, who, on the twenty-ninth day of January, was attacked with such impetuosity by the Austrian General Beck, that he retreated in great confusion to Torgau, with the loss of five hundred men, eight pieces of artillery, and a considerable quantity of new clothing, and other baggage. Another advantage of the same nature was gained by the Austrians at Neustadt, over a small body of Prussians who occupied that city. In the month of March, General Laudohn advanced with a strong detachment of horse and foot, in order to surprise

the Prussians, who, in attempting to effect a retreat to Steinau, were surrounded accordingly, and very roughly handled. General Laudohn summoned them twice by sound of trumpet to lay down their arms; but their commanders, the Captains Blumenthal and Zettwitz, rejecting the proposal with disdain, the enemy attacked them on all hands with a great superiority of number. In this emergency the Prussian Captains formed their troops into a square, and by a close-continued fire kept the enemy at bay; until, perceiving that the Croats had taken possession of a wood between Siebenhausen and Steinau, they, in apprehension of being intercepted, abandoned their baggage, and forced their way to Steinau, which they reached with great difficulty, having been continually harassed by the Austrians, who paid dear for this advantage. Several other petty exploits of this kind were achieved by detachments on both sides before the campaign was begun by the grand armies. CHAP. XIV. 1760.

§ III. Towards the end of April the King of Prussia altered his position, and withdrew that part of his chain of cantonments, extending from the forest of Thurundt to the right of the Elbe. He now took possession of a very strong camp between the Elbe and the Mulda, which he entrenched in every part that was accessible, and fortified with two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. By these precautions he was enabled to keep his ground against the army of Count Daun, and at the same time detached a body of troops, as a reinforcement to his brother Prince Henry, who assembled a separate army near Frankfort upon the Oder, that

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he might be at hand either to oppose the Russians, or march to the relief of Silesia, which the enemy was bent upon invading. It was for this purpose that the Austrian General, Laudohn, advanced with a considerable army into Lusatia about the beginning of May; and General Beck, with another body of troops, took possession of Corbus: mean while Count Daun continued in his old situation on the Elbe; General Lacy formed a small detached army upon the frontiers of Saxony, to the southward of Dresden; and the Prince de Deuxponts marched into the same neighbourhood with the army of the Empire. Prince Henry of Prussia having encamped with his army for some time at Sagan, in Silesia, moved from thence to Gorlitz in Lusatia, to observe the motions of General Laudohn, encamped at Koninsgratz; from whence, in the beginning of June, he marched into the country of Glatz, and advanced to the neighbourhood of Schweidnitz, which he seemed determined to besiege, having a train of eight pieces of cannon. With a view to thwart his designs, Prince Henry reinforced the body of troops under General Fouquet; and at the same time he sent a detachment into Pomerania, under Colonel Lessow, who defeated the rear-guard of General Tottleben and compelled that officer to evacuate Pomerania. By this time, however, Mareschal Soltikoff had arrived from Petersburgh, and taken the command of the grand Russian army, which passed the Vistula in June, and began its march towards the frontiers of Silesia.

§ IV. In the month of June General Laudohn made an unsuccessful attempt to carry Glatz by assault;

assault; but he succeeded better in his next enterprize. Understanding that General Fouquet, who occupied the posts at Landshut, had weakened himself by sending off detachments under the Major-General Ziethen and Grant, he resolved to attack him with such a superiority of number, that he should not be able to resist. Accordingly on the twenty-third day of June, at two in the morning, he began the assault with his whole army upon some redoubts which Fouquet occupied; and these were carried one after another, though not without a very desperate opposition. General Fouquet being summoned to surrender, refused to submit; and having received two wounds, was at length taken prisoner: about three thousand of his men escaped to Breslau; the rest were killed or taken: but the loss of the victors is said to have exceeded that of the vanquished. In July General Laudohn undertook the siege of Glatz, which was taken after a very faint resistance; for on the very day the batteries were opened against the place, the garrison abandoned part of the fortifications, which the besiegers immediately occupied. The Prussians made repeated efforts to regain the ground they had lost; but they were repulsed in all their attempts. At length the garrison laid down their arms, and surrendered at discretion. From this tame behaviour of the Prussians, one would imagine the garrison must have been very weak; a circumstance which we cannot reconcile with the known sagacity of the Prussian monarch, as the place was of great importance, on account of the immense magazine it contained, including above one hundred brass cannon, a great number of mortars, and a vast quantity of ammunition.

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§ V. Laudohn, encouraged by his success at Glatz, advanced immediately to Breslau, which he began to bombard with great fury*; but, before he could make a regular attack, he found himself obliged to retire. Prince Henry of Prussia, one of the most accomplished Generals which this age produced, having received repeated intelligence that the Russian army intended to

* The Germans are in general but indifferent engineers, and little acquainted with the art of besieging. On this occasion the Austrian General had no other prospect than that of carrying the place by a sudden attack, or intimidating Count Tavenzein, the Governor, to an immediate surrender; for he knew the Russian army was at a considerable distance; and judged from the character of Prince Henry of Prussia, that he would advance to the relief of the place long before it would be taken according to the usual forms. Influenced by these considerations, when he had invested the town, he sent a letter to the Governor, specifying that his army consisted of fifty battalions and fourscore squadrons; that the Russian army, amounting to seventy-five thousand men, was within three days' march of Breslau; that no succour could be expected from the King of Prussia encamped as he was on the other side of the Elbe, and over-awed by the army of Count Daun; that Prince Henry, far from being in a condition to bring relief, would not be able to stand his ground against the Russians; that Breslau being an open mercantile town, not a fortress, could not be defended without contravening the established rules of war; and therefore the Governor, in case of obstinacy, had no reason to expect an honourable capitulation, the benefit of which was now offered. He, at the same time, sent a memorial to the civil magistrates, threatening their town with destruction, which could by no other means be prevented than by joining with the inhabitants in persuading the Governor to embrace immediately the terms which were proposed. Count Tavenzein, instead of being intimidated, was encouraged by these menaces, which implied an apprehension in Laudohn that the place would be relieved. He therefore replied to the summons he had received, that Breslau was not simply a mercantile town, but ought to be considered as a place of strength, as being surrounded with works and wet ditches; that the Austrians themselves had defended it as such after the battle of Lissa, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven; that the King his master having commanded him to defend the place to the last extremity, he could neither comply with

to join Laudohn at Breslau, resolved to advance and give them battle before the purposed junction. In the latter end of July he began his march from Gleissen, and on the last day of that month had reached Linden, near Slauve, where he understood that Tottleben's detachment only had passed through the plains of Polnich-Lissa, and that the grand Russian army had marched through Kosten and Gustin. The Prince, finding it impossible to pursue them by that route, directed his march to Glogau, where he learnt that Breslau was besieged by General Laudohn, and immediately advanced by forced marches to its relief. Such was his ex-

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with General Laudohn's proposals, nor pay the least regard to his threats of destroying the town; as he had not been entrusted with the care of the houses, but with the defence of the fortifications The Austrian convinced him, that same evening, that he threatened nothing but what he meant to perform. He opened his batteries, and poured in upon the town a most terrible shower of bombs and red-hot bullets, which continued till midnight. During this dreadful discharge, which filled the place with horror and desolation, he attempted the outworks by assault. The Croats attacked the covered way in different places with their usual impetuosity; but were repulsed with considerable loss, by the conduct and resolution of the Governor and garrison. These proceedings having made no impression on Tavenzein, the besieging General had recourse again to negociation; and offered the most flattering articles of capitulation, which were rejected with disdain. The Governor gave him to understand, that the destruction of the town had made no change in his resolution; though it was a practice contrary to the law of arms, as well as to the dictates of common humanity, to begin the siege of a fortress by ruining the inhabitants: finally, he assured him he would wait for him upon the ramparts, and defend the place to the utmost of his power. His observation was certainly just; nothing could be more infamously inhuman than this practice of making war upon the helpless unarmed inhabitants of a town which has the misfortune to be beleaguered; yet the besieger pleaded the example of the Prussian monarch, who had before acted the same tragedy at Dresden. Laudohn being thus set at defiance continued to batter and bombard; and several subsequent assaults were given to the fortifications.

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pedition, that in five days he marched above one hundred and twenty English miles; and at his approach the Austrian General abandoned his enterprize. Thus, by his prudence and activity, he not only prevented the junction of the Russian and Austrian armies, but also saved the capital of Silesia; and hampered Laudohn in such a manner as subjected him to a defeat by the Prussian monarch, to whose motions we shall now turn our attention.

§ VI. Whether his design was originally upon Dresden, or he purposed to co-operate with his brother Prince Henry in Silesia, which his adversaries seemed to have pitched upon as the scene of their operations, we cannot presume to determine: but certain it is, he, in the beginning of July, began his march in two columns through Lusatia; and Count Daun being informed of his march, ordered his army to be put in motion. Leaving the army of the Empire, and the body of troops under Lacy, to guard Saxony in his absence, he marched with great expedition towards Silesia, in full persuasion that the Prussian monarch had thither directed his route. On the seventh day of July, the King knowing that Daun was now removed at a distance, repassed the Pulsnitz, which he had passed but two days before, and advanced with the van of his army towards Lichtenberg, in order to attack the forces of General Lacy, who was posted there; but the Austrians retired at his approach. Then the army marched to Marienstern, where the King received intelligence that Count Daun was in full march for Lauban, having already gained two marches upon the

the Prussians. Perhaps it was this intimation that determined the King to change his plan, and return to the Elbe. On the eighth day of the month he repassed the Sprehe, in the neighbourhood of Bautzen, and marched towards Dresden with extraordinary diligence. On the thirteenth, his army having passed the Elbe at Kadetz, on a bridge of boats, encamped between Pirna and Dresden, which last he resolved to besiege, in hopes of reducing it before Count Daun could return to its relief. How far this expectation was well grounded, we must leave the reader to judge, after having observed that the place was now much more defensible than it had been when the last attempt of the Austrians upon it miscarried: that it was secured with a numerous garrison, commanded by General Macguire, an officer of courage and experience. This Governor being summoned to surrender, answered that, having the honour to be entrusted with the defence of the capital, he would maintain it to the last extremity. Batteries were immediately raised against the town on both sides of the Elbe; and the poor inhabitants subjected to a dreadful visitation, that their calamities might either drive them to despair, or move the heart of the Governor to embrace articles of capitulation; but these expedients proved ineffectual. Though the suburbs towards the Pirna gate were attacked and carried, this advantage made no impression on General Macguire, who made several vigorous sallies, and took every necessary precaution for the defence of the city; encouraged moreover by the vicinity of Lacy's body, and the army of the empire, encamped in

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an advantageous position near Gross Seydlitz: and confident that Count Daun would hasten to his relief. In this hope he was not disappointed; the Austrian General, finding himself duped by the stratagem of the Prussian monarch, and being made acquainted with his enterprise against Dresden, instantly wheeled about; and marched back with such rapidity, that on the nineteenth day of the month he reached the neighbourhood of the capital of Saxony. In consequence of his approach the King of Prussia, whose heavy artillery was now arrived, redoubled his efforts against the city, so as to reduce to ashes the cathedral church, the new square, several noble streets, some palaces, together with the curious manufactory of porcelaine. His vengeance must have been levelled against the citizens; for it affected neither the fortifications, nor the Austrian garrison, which Count Daun found means to reinforce with sixteen battalions. This supply, and the neighbourhood of three hostile armies, rendered it altogether impossible to prosecute the siege with any prospect of success: the King, therefore, abandoned the undertaking, withdrew his troops and artillery, and endeavoured to bring Daun to a battle, which that General cautiously avoided.

§ VII. The fate of this Prince seemed now at its crisis. Notwithstanding all the efforts of his brother Prince Henry, the Russians were fast advancing to join Laudohn, who had already blocked up Schweidnitz and Neiss, and their junction seemed to threaten the loss of all Silesia. The King had nothing to oppose to superior numbers but superior activity, of which he determined to avail

avail himself without delay. Instead of making a feint towards Silesia, he resolved to march thither in earnest; and for that purpose, crossing the Elbe, encamped at Dallwitz, on the farther bank of the river; leaving General Hulsen, with fifteen thousand men, in the entrenched camp of Schlettow, to maintain his footing in Saxony. On the third day of August he began his march for Silesia, followed by Count Daun with the grand Austrian army; while the detached body under Lacy took post at Reichenberg, and the Imperial army encamped at Kesseldorf. Both the Prussians and Austrians marched at the rate of one hundred miles in five days: on the tenth the King took possession of the camp of Lignitz; and here he seemed in danger of being quite surrounded by the enemy, who occupied the whole ground between Parchwitz and Cossendau, an extent of thirty miles. Count Daun's army formed the centre of this chain, possessing the heights of Walstadt and Hochkirk: General Laudohn covered the ground between Jeschkendorf and Coschitz: the rising grounds of Parchwitz were secured by General Nauendorff; and M. de Beck, who formed the left, extended his troops beyond Cossendau. The King marched in the night of the eleventh, with a view to turn the enemy, and reach Jauer; but at break of day he discovered a new camp at Prausnitz, which consisted of Lacy's detachment, just arrived from Lauban. The Prussians immediately passed the Katzbach, to attack this General; but he made such a skilful disposition for a retreat towards the army of Count Daun, that he not only baffled the endeavours of the King to bring him

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to action, but, by posting himself on the heights of Hennersdorff, anticipated his march to Jauer. In vain the Prussian monarch attempted next day to turn the enemy on the side of the mountains, by Pomsen and Jagersdorff; the roads were found impassable to the ammunition waggons, and the King returned to the camp at Lignitz.

§ VIII. While he remained in this situation, he received advice that four-and-twenty thousand Russians under Count Czernichew, had thrown bridges over the Oder at Auras, where they intended to cross that river; and he concluded the enemy had formed a design to close him in, and atacked him with their joint forces. Daun had indeed projected a plan for surprising him in the night, and had actually put his army in motion for that purpose; but he was anticipated by the vigilance and good fortune of the Prussian monarch. That Prince reflecting that if he should wait for his adversaries in his camp, he ran the risk of being attacked at the same time by Lacy on his right, by Daun in his front, and by Laudohn on his left, he altered his position, in order to disconcert their operations; and, on the fourteenth day of the month, marched to the heights of Psaffendorff, where he formed his army in order of battle. Receiving intimation, about two in the morning, that Laudohn was in full march advancing in columns by Benowitz, he divided his army into two separate bodies. One of these remained on the ground, in order to maintain the posts against any attempts that might be made by Count Daun to succour Laudohn; and that this service might be the more effectually performed,

the heights were fortified with batteries, so judiciously disposed, as to impede and overawe the whole Austrian army. The King having taken this precaution, wheeled about with sixteen battalions and thirty squadrons, to fall upon Laudohn as he should advance: but that General knew nothing of his design, until he himself arrived at the village of Psaffendorff, about three in the morning; when the day dawning, and a thick fog gradually dispersing, the whole detachment of the Prussian army appeared in order of battle, in a well chosen situation, strengthened with a numerous train of artillery, placed to the best advantage. Laudohn was not a little mortified to find himself caught in his own snare: but he had advanced too far to recede; and therefore making a virtue of necessity, resolved to stand an engagement. With this view he formed his troops as well as the time, place, and circumstances would permit; and the Prussians advancing to the attack, a severe action ensued. The King rode along the line to animate the troops, and superintended every part of the charge; hazarding his life in the most dangerous scenes of the battle to such a degree, that his horse was killed under him, and his clothes were shot through in several places. The Austrians maintained the conflict with great obstinacy until six in the morning, when they gave ground, and were pursued to the Katsbach; beyond which the King would not allow his troops to prosecute the advantage they had gained, that they might be able to succour the right in case Mareschal Count Daun should succeed in his attempt to advance against them from Lignitz. That General had actually begun his march to fall upon the Prussians on one side, while Laudohn

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Laudohn should attack them on the other: but he was not a little surprised to find they were decamped; and when he perceived a thick cloud of smoke at a distance, he immediately comprehended the nature of the King's management. He then attempted to advance by Lignitz: but the troops and artillery, which had been left on the height of Psaffendorff, to dispute his march, were so advantageously disposed, as to render all his efforts abortive. Laudohn is said to have lost in the action above eight thousand men, killed, wounded, and taken, including eighty officers, with twenty-three pair of colours and eighty-two pieces of cannon: over and above this loss, the Austrian General suffered greatly by desertion. The Prussians obtained the victory at the expence of one General, with five hundred men killed, and twelve hundred wounded. Immediately after the action the victor marched to Parchwitz; while Daun detached Prince Lowenstein and General Beck with the reserve of his army, to join Prince Czernichew, who had crossed the Oder at Auras; but he was so intimidated by the defeat at Lignitz, that he forthwith repassed that river, and Prince Lowenstein retired on the side of Jauer. By this bold and well conducted adventure, the Prussian monarch not only escaped the most imminent hazard of a total defeat from the joint efforts of two strong armies, but also prevented the dreaded junction of the Russian and Austrian forces. His business was now to open the communication with Breslau and his brother Prince Henry, whom he joined at Neumarcke. The Prince, after Laudohn was obliged to relinquish the siege of Breslau, had

had kept a watchful eye over the motions of the Russian army, which had advanced into the neighbourhood of that city; and without all doubt, would have bombarded it from some commanding heights, had they not been prevented by Prince Henry, who took possession of these posts, and fortified them with redoubts. The King, having freed Breslau from the neighbourhood of his enemies, and being strengthened by the junction with his brother, left a considerable detachment under the command of General Boltze, to protect the country against the Russian irregulars; and advanced with his whole force to the relief of Schweidnitz, which was blocked up by the Austrian forces under the command of the Mareschal Count Daun. In his march he fell upon a separate body under General Bech, made two battalions of Croats prisoners, and dispersed several squadrons. This achievement had such an effect upon the enemy, that they raised the blockade, and retreated with some precipitation to the mountains of Landshut.

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§ IX. While the King thus exerted himself, with a spirit altogether unexampled, in defending Silesia, General Hulsen, who commanded his troops in Saxony, was exposed to the most imminent danger. Understanding that the army of the Empire had formed a design to cut off his communication with Torgau, he quitted his camp at Meissen, and marched to Strehla. The enemy having divided their forces into two bodies, one of them, on the twentieth day of August, attacked an advanced post of the Prussians; while the other was disposed in such a manner as to overawe Hulsen's camp, and prevent him from taking any step

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step for the relief of his battalions, who maintained their ground with difficulty against a superior number of the assailants. In this emergency the Prussian General ordered his cavalry to make a circuit round a rising ground, and, if possible, charge the enemy in flank. This order was executed with equal vigour and success. They fell upon the Imperial army with such impetuosity, as drove their battalions and horse upon each other in the utmost confusion. A considerable number of the enemy were slain, and forty-one officers, with twelve hundred men, made prisoners. By this advantage, which was obtained at a very small expence, General Hulsen opened for himself a way to Torgau, whither he instantly retreated, perceiving that the whole army of the Imperialists was advancing to cut off his communication with the Elbe. This retreat furnished the enemy with a pretext for claiming the victory.

§ X. After all these heroick endeavours of the Prussian monarch and his officers, his affairs remained in such a desperate situation as seemed to presage approaching ruin: for though in person he commanded a numerous and well-appointed army, he found it absolutely impossible to guard against the different detachments from the three separate armies of his adversaries. Bodies of Austrian troops scoured the country of Lusatia; the Russians traversed part of Silesia, and made irruptions even into Brandenburgh: the Imperial army domineered in Saxony: the Swedish army, meeting with no opposition, advanced into the heart of Pomerania; so that the King was not only threatened on every side, but all correspondence

ence between him and his hereditary dominions was at this juncture intercepted. CHAP. XIV.

§ XI. His adversaries, having been hitherto baffled by his activity and resolution in their designs upon Silesia, now meditated a scheme, the execution of which he could not but feel in the most sensible manner. The Russian army being on its retreat from Silesia, Count Czernichew was sent with a strong detachment into the Marche of Brandenburgh; while a numerous body of Austrians under Lacy and Bretano, penetrated into the same country, from Saxony, with instructions to join the Russians at the gates of Berlin. The Prussian General Hulsen, finding himself too weak to cope with the army of the Empire in Misnia, had fallen back to this capital, where he was joined by the troops under General Werner, lately returned from Pomerania; but as their forces, after this junction, did not exceed sixteen thousand men, and the Allies advancing against them amounted to forty thousand, they would not pretend to oppose the enemy in the open field, nor to defend a city of such extent, and so imperfectly fortified. Such an attempt would have only exposed their troops to ruin, without being able to save the capital, which, on the contrary, would have been the more severely handled, in consequence of their opposition. They therefore resolved to retire, after having repulsed the advanced guard of the Russians under Tottleben, which attacked the gates, and even bombarded the town, before the great armies appeared. At their approach the Prussian Generals retreated, leaving three weak battalions in the place, in hopes they might be the means of obtaining some sort 1760.

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of terms for the city. They made no resistance, however; but on the first summons proposed articles of capitulation, which being refused, they surrendered themselves prisoners of war. In favour of the city the foreign ministers there residing interposed their mediation with such zeal and success, that tolerable conditions were obtained. The inhabitants were indulged with the free exercise of their religion, and an immunity from violence to their persons and effects. The enemy promised that the Russian irregulars should not enter the town: and that the King's palace should not be violated. These articles being ratified, the Austrian and Russian troops entered the place, where they totally destroyed the magazines, arsenals, and founderies, with an immense quantity of military stores, and a great number of cannon and small arms: then they demanded the immediate payment of eight hundred thousand guilders: and afterwards exacted a contribution of one million nine hundred thousand German crowns. Many outrages were committed by the licentious soldiery, in spite of all the precautions which the officers could take to preserve the most exact discipline. The houses of the private inhabitants were tolerably protected; but the King's palaces were subjected to the most rigorous treatment. In the royal palace of Charlottenburgh they pillaged and spoiled the rich furniture; they defaced and mutilated the valluable pictures and antique statues collected by Cardinal de Polignac, and purchased by the House of Brandenburgh. The castle of Schonhausen, belonging to the Queen, and that of Fredericksfeldt, the property of the Margrave

Charles, were pillaged of effects to a very considerable value. The palace of Potsdam was effectually protected by Prince Esterhasi, who would not suffer one article of furniture or ornament to be touched; but desired leave to take one picture of the King, and two of his german-flutes, that he might preserve them as memorials of an illustrious Prince, whose heroick character he admired. The Austrian and Russian troops entered Berlin on the ninth day of October, and quitted it on the thirteenth, on hearing that the King was in full march to the relief of his capital. In their retreat, by different routes, from Brandenburgh, they drove away all the cattle and horses they could find, ravaged the country, and committed brutal outrages on the inhabitants, which the pretence of retaliation could never excuse. The body of Russians which entered Berlin marched from thence into Poland, by the way of Furstenwalde; while the Austrians took the route of Saxony, from whence they had advanced into Brandenburgh. Meanwhile the town of Wirtemberg, in that electorate, was reduced by the Duke de Deux Ponts, commander of the Imperial army; which, in conjunction with the Austrians, made themselves masters also of Torgau and Leipsick. CHAP. XIV. 1760.

§ XII. The King of Prussia, in his march through Lusatia, was still attended by Count Daun, at the head of his grand army, and both passed the Elbe about the latter end of October. The Prussian crossed the river at Coswick, where he was joined by the troops under Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg and General Hulsen, so that his army now amounted to eighty thousand fighting men,

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with whom he resolved to strike some stroke of importance. Indeed, at this time his situation was truly critical. General Laudohn, with a considerable body of Austrians, remained in Silesia; the Russian army still threatened Breslau, the capital of that country. The Imperialists and Austrians had taken possession of all the great towns in Saxony, and were masters of both sides of the Elbe. In the eastern part of Pomerania the Russians had invested Colberg by sea and land, seemingly determined to reduce the place, that they might have a sea-port by which they could be supplied with provision, ammunition, necessaries, and reinforcements, without the trouble and inconvenience of a long and laborious march from the banks of the Vistula. On the western side of Pomerania, the war, which had hitherto languished, was renewed by the Swedes with uncommon vivacity. They passed the river Pene without opposition; and obliging General Stutterheim to retreat, advanced as far as Stransberg. That officer, however, being reinforced, attacked a Swedish post at Passelvalik, slew about five hundred of the enemy, and took an equal number, with six pieces of cannon; but he was not numerous enough to keep the field against the whole army. Thus the Prussian monarch saw himself obliged to abandon Silesia; deprived of all the places he held in Saxony, which had been his best resource; and in danger of being driven into his hereditary country of Brandenburgh, which was unable either to maintain, or even to recruit his army. On this emergency he resolved to make one desperate effort against the grand Austrian army, under Count Daun, who had passed

passed the Elbe at Torgau, and advanced to Eulenbourg, from whence however he retreated to his former camp at Torgau; and the King chose his situation between this last place and Schilda, at Lang-Reichenbach where his hussars attacked a body of horse under General Brentano, and made four hundred prisoners. The right wing of the Austrians being at Groswich, and their left at Torgau, the Prussian King determined to attack them next day, which was the third of November. His design was to march through the wood of Torgau by three different routes, with thirty battalions and fifty squadrons of his left wing: the first line was ordered to advance by the way of Mackrene to Neiden; the second, by Peckhütte to Elsnick; and the third, consisting of cavalry, to penetrate by the wood of Wildenhayn to Vogelsang. On the other hand, General Ziethen was directed to take the great Leipsick road, with thirty battalions and seventy squadrons of the right; and, quitting it at the ponds of Torgau, to attack the villages of Suptitz and Groswich. The King's line, in its march, fell in with a corps of Austrians under General Reid, who retired into the wood of Torgau; and another more considerable body, posted in the wood of Wildenhayn, likewise retreated to Groschutz, after having fired some pieces of artillery: but the dragoons of St. Ignon, being inclosed between two columns of Prussian infantry, were either killed or taken. By two in the afternoon the King had penetrated through the wood to the plain of Neiden, from whence another body of the enemy retired to Torgau, where a continued noise of cannon and small

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arms. declared that General Ziethen was already engaged. The Prussians immediately advanced at a quicker pace, and passing the morasses near Neiden, inclined to the right in three lines, and soon came to action. Daun had chosen a very advantageous position: his right extended to Groswich, and his left to Zinne; while his infantry occupied some eminences along the road of Leipsick, and his front was strengthened with no less than two hundred pieces of cannon. His second line was disposed on an extent of ground, which terminated in hillocks towards the Elbe; and against this the King directed his attack. He had already given his troops to understand, that his affairs were in such a situation, they must either conquer or perish: and they began the battle with the most desperate impetuosity; but they met with such a warm reception from the artillery, small arms, and in particular from the Austrian carabineers, that their grenadiers were shattered and repulsed. The second charge, though enforced with incredible vigour, was equally unsuccessful: then the King ordered his cavalry to advance; and they fell upon some regiments of infantry with such fury as obliged them to give way. These, however, were compelled to retire, in their turn, before about seventy battalions of the enemy, who advanced towards Torgau, stretching with their right to the Elbe, and their left to Zinne. While the Prince of Holstein rallied his cavalry, and returned to the charge, the third line of Prussian infantry attacked the vineyard of Suptitz, and General Ziethen with the right wing took the enemy in rear. This disposition threw the Austrians into disorder; which

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was greatly augmented by the disaster of Count Daun, who was dangerously wounded in the thigh, and carried off the field of battle. But the Prussians could not pursue their victory, because the action had lasted until nine; and the night being unusually dark, facilitated the retreat of the enemy, who crossed the Elbe on three bridges of boats thrown over the river at Torgau. The victor possessed the field of battle, with seven thousand prisoners, including two hundred officers, twenty-nine pair of colours, one standard, and about forty pieces of cannon. The carnage was very great on both sides: about three thousand Prussians were killed, and five thousand wounded; and, in the first attacks, two general officers, with fifteen hundred soldiers, were made prisoners by the enemy. The King, as usual, exposed his person in every part of the battle, and a musket ball grazed upon his breast. In the morning the King of Prussia entered Torgau; then he secured Meissen, and took possession of Freyberg: so that, in consequence of this well-timed victory, his position was nearly the same as at the opening of the campaign.

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§ XIII. The Austrians, however, notwithstanding this check, maintained their ground in the neighbourhood of Dresden; while the Prussians were distributed in quarters of cantonment in and about Leipsick and Meissen. As the Austrian General had, after the battle, recalled his detachments, General Laudohn abandoned Landshut, which again fell into the hands of the Prussians, and the Imperial army was obliged to retire into Franconia. The Swedes having penetrated a great way into Pomerania, returned again to their winter

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quarters at Stralsund; and the Russian generals measured back their way to the Vistula: so that the Confederates gained little else in the course of this campaign but the contributions which they raised in Berlin, and the open country of Brandenburgh. Had all the Allies been heartily bent upon crushing the Prussian Monarch, one would imagine the Russians and Swedes might have joined their forces in Pomerania, and made good their winter-quarters in Brandenburgh, where they could have been supplied with magazines from the Baltick, and been at hand to commence their operations in the spring: but, in all probability, such an establishment in the Empire would have given umbrage to the Germanick body.

§ XIV. The Diet of Poland being assembled in the beginning of October, the King entertained the most sanguine hope they would take some resolution in his favour; but the partisans of Prussia frustrated all his endeavours: one of the deputies protesting against holding a Diet while there were foreign troops in the kingdom, the assembly broke up in a tumultuous manner, even before they had chosen a mareschal. The Diet of Sweden, which was convoked about the same period, seemed determined to proceed upon business. They elected Count Axel Ferson their grand mareschal, in opposition to Count Horn, by a great majority; which was an unlucky circumstance for the Prussian interest at Stockholm, inasmuch as the same majority obstinately persisted in opinion, that the war should be prosecuted in the spring with redoubled vigour, and the army in Germany reinforced to the number of at least thirty thousand fighting men,

men. This unfavourable circumstance made but little impression upon the Prussian Monarch, who had maintained his ground with surprising resolution and success since the beginning of the campaign; and now enjoyed in prospect the benefit of winter, which he is said to have termed his best auxiliary. CHAP. XIV. 1760.

§ XV. The animosity which inflamed the contending parties was not confined to the operations in war, but broke out as usual, in printed declarations, which the belligerent powers diffused all over Europe. In the beginning of the season the States of the circle of Westphalia had been required, by the Imperial Court, to furnish their contingent of troops against the King of Prussia, or to commute for this contingent with a sum of money. In consequence of this demand, some of the Westphalian Estates had sent deputies to confer with the assembly of the circle of Cologn; and to these the King signified, by a declaration dated at Munster, that as this demand of money, instead of troops, was no less extraordinary than contrary to the constitutions of the Empire, should they comply with it, or even continue to assist his enemies either with troops or money, he would consider them as having actually taken part in the war against him and his Allies, and treat them accordingly on all occasions. This intimation produced little effect in his favour. The Duke of Mecklenbourg adhered to the opposite cause; and the Elector of Cologn co-operated with the French in their design against Hanover. By way of retaliation for this partiality, the Prussians ravaged the country of Mecklenbourg, and the Hanoverians

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1760. Hanoverians levied contributions in the territories of Cologn. The parties thus aggrieved had recourse to complaints and remonstrances. The Duke's Envoy at Ratisbon communicated a rescript to the Imperial ministers, representing that the Prussian troops under General Werner and Colonel de Belling had distressed his country in the autumn by grievous extortions; that afterwards Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, in the service of Prussia, had demanded an exorbitant quantity of provisions, with some millions of money, and a great number of recruits: or, in lieu of these, that the Duke's forces should act under the Prussian banner. He therefore declared, that as the country of Mecklenbourg was impoverished, and almost depopulated, by these oppressions, the Duke would find himself obliged to take measures for the future security of his subjects, if not immediately favoured with such assistance from the Court of Vienna as would put a stop to these violent proceedings. This declaration was by some considered as the prelude to his renouncing his engagements with the House of Austria. As the Imperial Court had threatened to put the Elector of Hanover under the ban of the Empire, in consequence of the hostilities which his troops had committed in the electorate of Cologn, his Resident at Ratisbon delivered to the Ministers who assisted at the Diet, a memorial, remonstrating that the Emperor hath no power, singly, to subject any Prince to the ban, or declare him a rebel; and that, by arrogating such a power, he exposed his authority to the same contempt into which the Pope's bulls of excommunication were so justly fallen. With respect

respect to the Elector of Cologn, he observed that this Prince was the first who commenced hostilities, by allowing his troops to co-operate with the French in their invasion of Hanover, and by celebrating with rejoicings the advantages which they had gained in that electorate: he therefore gave the Estates of the Empire to understand, that the best way of screening their subjects from hostile treatment would be a strict observance of neutrality in the present disputes of the Empire.

§. XVI. This was a strain much more effectual among princes and powers who are generally actuated by interested motives, than was the repetition of complaints, equally pathetick and unavailing, uttered by the unfortunate King of Poland, Elector of Saxony. The damage done to his capital by the last attempt of the Prussian Monarch on that city, affected the old King in such a manner, that he published at Vienna an appeal to all the Powers of Europe, from the cruelty and unprecedented outrages which distinguished the conduct of his adversaries in Saxony. All Europe pitied the hard fate of this exiled Prince, and sympathised with the disasters of his country: but, in the breasts of his enemies, reasons of state and convenience overruled the suggestions of humanity; and his friends had hitherto exerted themselves in vain for the deliverance of his people.

§ XVII. From this detail of continental affairs, our attention is recalled to Great-Britain, by an incident of a very interesting nature; an account of which, however, we shall postpone until we have recorded the success that in the course of this year, attended the British arms in the East-Indies. We have

BOOK III. 1760. have already observed that Colonel Coote, after having defeated the French General Lally in the field, and reduced divers of the enemy's settlements on the coast of Coromandel, at length cooped them up within the walls of Pondicherry, the principal seat of the French East-India Company, large, populous, well fortified, and secured with a numerous garrison, under the immediate command of their General. In the month of October Admiral Stevens sailed from Tincomalé with all his squadron, in order to its being refitted, except five sail of the line, which he left under the command of Captain Haldane, to block up Pondicherry by sea, while Mr. Coote carried on his operations by land. By this disposition and the vigilance of the British officers, the place was so hampered, as to be greatly distressed for want of provisions, even before the siege could be undertaken in form; for the rainy season rendered all regular approaches impracticable. These rains being abated by the twenty-sixth day of November, Colonel Coote directed the engineers to pitch upon proper places for erecting batteries that should enfilade or flank the works of the garrison, without exposing their own men to any severe fire from the enemy. Accordingly, four batteries were constructed in different places, so as to answer these purposes, and opened altogether on the eighth day of December at midnight. Though raised at a considerable distance, they were plied with good effect, and the besieged returned the fire with great vivacity. This mutual cannonading continued until the twenty-ninth day of the month, when the engineers were employed in raising another battery, near

near enough to effect a breach in the north-west counter-guard and curtain. Though the approaches were retarded some days by a violent storm, which almost ruined the works, the damage was soon repaired, a considerable post was taken from the enemy by assault, and afterwards regained by the French grenadiers, through the timidity of the Sepoys by whom it was occupied. By the fifteenth day of January, a second battery being raised within point-blank, a breach was made in the curtain: the west face and flank of the north-west bastion were ruined, and the guns of the enemy entirely silenced. The garrison and inhabitants of Pondicherry were now reduced to an extremity of famine which would admit of no hesitation. General Lally sent a Colonel, attended by the chief of the Jesuits, and two Civilians, to Mr. Coote, with proposals of surrendering the garrison prisoners of war, and demanding a capitulation in behalf of the French East-India Company. On this last subject he made no reply; but next morning took possession of the town and citadel, where he found a great quantity of artillery, ammunition, small arms, and military stores; then he secured the garrison, amounting to above two thousand Europeans. Lally made a gallant defence; and, had he been properly supplied with provision, the conquest of the place would not have been so easily achieved. He certainly flattered himself with the hopes of being supplied; otherwise an officer of his experience would have demanded a capitulation before he was reduced to the necessity of acquiescing in any terms the besieger might have thought proper to impose.

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That

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That he spared no pains to procure supplies, appears from an intercepted letter* written by this Commander to Monsieur Raymond, French Resident at Pullicat.—The billet is no bad sketch of the writer's character, which seems to have a strong tincture of oddity and extravagance.

§ XVIII. By the reduction of Pondicherry the French interest was annihilated on the coast of Coromandel, and therefore of the utmost importance to the British nation. It may be doubted, however, whether Colonel Coote, with all his spirit, vigilance, and military talents, could have succeeded in this enterprize without the assistance of the squadrons, which co-operated with him by sea, and effectually excluded all succour from the besieged. It must be owned, for the honour of the service, that no incident interrupted the good understanding which was maintained between the land and sea officers, who vied with each other in contributing their utmost efforts towards the success of the expedition. On the twenty-fifth day of December, Rear-Admiral Stevens arrived with four ships of

* "Monsieur Raymond—the English squadron is no more. Sir—of the twelve ships they had in our road seven are lost, crews and all; the other four dismasted; and no more than one frigate hath escaped—therefore lose not an instant in sending chelingoes upon chelingoes, laden with rice.—The Dutch have nothing to fear now. Besides, according to the law of nations, they are only restricted from sending us provisions in their own bottoms; and we are no longer blockaded by sea.—The salvation of Pondicherry hath been once in your power already; if you neglect this opportunity, it will be entirely your own fault—don't forget some small chelingoes also—offer great rewards—in four days I expect seventeen thousand Mahrattas.—In short, risk all—attempt all—force all, and send us some rice, should it be but half a garse at a time."

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the line, having parted with Rear-Admiral Cornish and his division in stormy weather; but he joined them at Pondicherry before the place was surrendered. On the first day of January a violent tempest obliged Admiral Stevens to slip his cables and put to sea, where he parted with the rest of his squadron; and when in three days he returned to the road of Pondicherry, he had the mortification to find that his division had suffered severely from the storm. The ships of war called the Duke of Aquitaine and the Sunderland foundered in the storm, and their crews perished. The Newcastle, the Queenborough, and the Protector fireship, were driven ashore, and destroyed; but the men were saved, together with the cannon, stores, and provisions. Many other ships sustained considerable damage, which however was soon repaired. Admiral Stevens having intercepted the letter from Lally to Raymond, (inserted in p. 364,) immediately dispatched letters to the Dutch and Danish settlements on this coast, intimating, that, notwithstanding the insinuations of General Lally, he had eleven sail of the line, with two frigates, under his command, all fit for service, in the road of Pondicherry, which was closely invested and blockaded both by sea and land: he therefore declared, that, as in that case it was contrary to the law of nations for any neutral Power to relieve or succour the besieged, he was determined to seize any vessel that should attempt to throw provisions into the place.

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§ XIX. While the arms of Great-Britain still prospered in every effort tending to the real interest

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rest of the nation, an event happened which for a moment obscured the splendour of her triumphs; and could not but be very alarming to those German allies, whom her liberality had enabled to maintain an expensive and sanguinary war of humour and ambition. On the twenty-fifth day of October George II. King of Great-Britain, without any previous disorder, was in the morning suddenly seized with the agony of death, at the palace at Kensington. He had risen at his usual hour, drank his chocolate, and enquired about the wind, as anxious for the arrival of the foreign mails; then he opened a window of his apartment, and perceiving the weather was serene, declared he would walk in the garden. In a few minutes after this declaration, while he remained alone in his chamber, he fell down upon the floor; the noise of his fall brought his attendants into the room, who lifted him on the bed, where he desired, in a faint voice, that the Princess Amelia might be called; but before she could reach the apartments he had expired. An attempt was made to bleed him, but without effect; and indeed his malady was far beyond the reach of art: for when the cavity of the thorax or chest was opened, and inspected by the serjeant-surgeons, they found the right ventricle of the heart actually ruptured, and a great quantity of blood discharged through the aperture into the surrounding pericardium; so that he must have died instantaneously, in consequence of the effusion. The case, however, was so extraordinary, that we question whether there is such another instance upon record. A rupture of this nature appears the more remarkable, as it happened

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to a Prince of a healthy constitution, unaccustomed to excess, and far advanced beyond that period of life when the blood might be supposed to flow with a dangerous impetuosity. CHAP. XIV. 1760.

§ XX. Thus died George II. at the age of seventy-seven, after a long reign of thirty-four years, distinguished by a variety of important events, and chequered with a vicissitude of character and fortune. He was in his person rather lower than the middle size, well shaped, erect, with eyes remarkably prominent, a high nose, and fair complexion. In his disposition he is said to have been hasty, prone to anger, especially in his youth, yet soon appeased; otherwise mild, moderate, and humane; in his way of living temperate, regular, and so methodical in every branch of private œconomy, that his attention descended to objects which a great King (perhaps) had better overlook. He was fond of military pomp and parade; and personally brave. He loved war as a soldier, he studied it as a science; and corresponded on this subject with some of the greatest officers whom Germany has produced. The extent of his understanding, and the splendour of his virtue, we shall not presume to ascertain, or attempt to display; we rather wish for opportunities to expatiate on his munificence and liberality; his generous regard to genius and learning; his royal encouragement and protection of those arts by which a nation is at once benefited and adorned. With respect to his government, it very seldom deviated from the institutions of law; or encroached upon private property; or interfered with the common administration of justice. The circumstances that chiefly marked his

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publick character, were a predilection for his native country, and a close attention to the political interests of the Germanick body: points and principles to which he adhered with the most invincible fortitude; and if ever the blood and treasure of Great-Britain were sacrificed to these considerations, we ought not so much to blame the Prince, who acted from the dictates of natural affection, as we should detest a succession of venal ministers, all of whom in their turns devoted themselves, soul and body, to the gratification of his passion, or partiality, so prejudicial to the true interest of their country.

§ XXI. The reign of George II. produced many revolutions, as well in the internal schemes of œconomy and administration, as in the external projects of political connections; revolutions that exposed the frailties of human nature, and demonstrated the instability of systems founded upon convenience. In the course of this reign a standing army was, by dint of ministerial influence, engrafted on the constitution of Great-Britain. A fatal stroke was given to the liberty of the press, by the act, subjecting all dramatick writings to the inspection of a licenser. The great machine of corruption, contrived to secure a constant majority in Parliament, was overturned, and the inventor of it obliged to quit the reins of government. Professed patriots resigned the principles they had long endeavoured to establish, and lifted themselves for the defence of that fortress against which their zeal and talents had been levelled. The management of a mighty kingdom was consigned into the hands of a motley administration, ministers

ministers without knowledge, and men without integrity, whose councils were timid, weak, and wavering; whose folly and extravagance exposed the nation to ridicule and contempt; by whose ignorance and presumption it was reduced to the verge of ruin. The kingdom was engaged in a quarrel truly national, and commenced a necessary war on national principles: but that war was starved; and the chief strength of the nation transferred to the continent of Europe, in order to maintain an unnecessary war, in favour of a family whose pride and ambition can be equalled by nothing but its insolence and ingratitude. While the strength of the nation was thus exerted abroad for the support of worthless allies, and a dangerous rebellion raged in the bowels of the kingdom, the Sovereign was insulted by his ministers, who deserted his service at that critical juncture, and refused to resume their functions, until he had truckled to their petulant humour, and dismissed a favourite servant, of whose superior talents they were meanly jealous. Such an unprecedented secession at any time would have merited the imputation of insolence: but at that period when the Sovereign was perplexed and embarrassed by a variety of dangers and difficulties; when his crown, and even his life, was at stake; to throw up their places, abandon his councils, and, as far as in them lay, detach themselves from his fortune, was a step so likely to aggravate the disorder of the nation, so big with cruelty, ingratitude and sedition, that it seems to deserve an appellation which, however, we do not think proper to bestow. An inglorious war was succeeded

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ceeded by an ignominious peace, which proved of short duration; yet in this interval the English nation exhibited such a proof of commercial opulence, as astonished all Europe. At the close of a war which had drained it of so much treasure, and increased the public debt to an enormous burthen, it acquiesced under such a reduction of interest as one would hardly think the ministry durst have proposed, even before one half of the national debt was contracted. A much more unpopular step was a law that passed for naturalizing the Jews—a law so odious to the people in general, that it was soon repealed, at the request of that minister by whom it had been chiefly patronized. An ill-concerted peace was in a little time productive of fresh hostilities, and another war with France, which Britain began to prosecute under unfavourable auspices. Then the whole political system of Germany was inverted. The King of England abandoned the interest of that House which he had in the former war so warmly espoused, and took into his bosom a Prince whom he had formerly considered as his inveterate enemy. The unpropitious beginning of this war against France being imputed to the misconduct of the administration, excited such a ferment among the people, as seemed to threaten a dangerous insurrection. Every part of the kingdom resounded with the voice of dissatisfaction, which did not even respect the throne. The King found himself obliged to accept of a minister presented by the people: and this measure was attended with consequences as favourable as his wish could form. From that instant all clamour was hushed; all opposition ceased.

ceased. The enterprising spirit of the new minister seemed to diffuse itself through all the operations of the war; and conquest every where attended the efforts of the British arms. Now appeared the fallacy of those maxims, and the falsehood of those assertions, by which former ministers had established, and endeavoured to excuse, the practices of corruption. The supposed disaffection, which had been insisted on as the source of parliamentary opposition, now entirely vanished; nor was it found necessary to use sinister means for securing a majority, in order to answer the purposes of the administration. England, for the first time, saw a minister of state in full possession of popularity. Under the auspices of this minister, it saw a national militia formed, and trained to discipline by the invincible spirit of a few patriots, who pursued this salutary measure in the face of unwearied opposition, discouraged by the jealousy of a court, and ridiculed by all the venal retainers to a standing army. Under his ministry it saw the military genius of Great-Britain revive, and shine with redoubled lustre; it saw her interest and glory coincide, and an immense extent of country added by conquest to her dominions. The people, confiding in the integrity and abilities of their own minister, and elevated by the repeated sounds of triumph, become enamoured of the war; and granted such liberal subsidies for its support, as no other minister would have presumed to ask, as no other nation believed they could afford. Nor did they murmur at seeing great part of their treasure diverted into foreign channels; nor did they seem to bestow a serious thought on the accumulating

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BOOK III. load of the national debt, which already exceeded the immense sum of one hundred millions.

1760. § XXII. In a word, they were intoxicated with victory; and as the King happened to die in the midst of their transports occasioned by the final conquest of Canada, their good humour garnished his character with a prodigality of encomiums. A thousand pens were drawn to paint the beauties and sublimity of his character, in poetry as well as prose. They extolled him above Alexander in courage and heroism, above Augustus in liberality, Titus in clemency, Antoninus in piety and benevolence, Solomon in wisdom, and St. Edward in devotion. Such hyperbolical eulogiums served only to throw a ridicule upon a character which was otherwise respectable. The two universities vied with each other in lamenting his death; and each published a huge collection of elegies on the subject: nor did they fail to exalt his praise, with the warmest expressions of affection and regret, in the compliments of condolence and congratulation which they presented to his successor. The same panegyrick and pathos appeared in all the addresses with which every other community in the kingdom approached the throne of our present Sovereign; insomuch that we may venture to say, no Prince was ever more popular at the time of his decease. The English are naturally warm and impetuous; and in generous natures, affection is as apt as any other passion to run riot. The sudden death of the King was lamented as a national misfortune by many, who felt a truly filial affection for their country; not that they implicitly subscribed to all the exaggerated praise which had been

been so liberally poured forth on his character; but because the nation was deprived of him at a critical juncture, while involved in a dangerous and expensive war, of which he had been personally the chief mover and support. They knew the burthen of royalty devolved upon a young Prince, who, though heir apparent to the crown, and already arrived at years of maturity, had never been admitted to any share of the administration, nor made acquainted with any schemes or secrets of state. The real character of the new King was very little known to the generality of the nation. They dreaded an abrupt change of measures, which might have rendered useless all the advantages obtained in the course of the war. As they were ignorant of his connections, they dreaded a revolution in the ministry, which might fill the kingdom with clamour and confusion. But the greatest shock occasioned by his decease was undoubtedly among our allies and fellow subjects in Germany, who saw themselves suddenly deprived of their sole prop and patron, at a time when they could not pretend of themselves to make head against the numerous enemies by whom they were surrounded. But all these doubts and apprehensions vanished like mists before the rising sun; and the people of Great-Britain enjoyed the inexpressible pleasure of seeing this loss repaired in such a manner, as must have amply fulfilled the most sanguine wish of every friend to his country.

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§ XXIII. The commerce of Great-Britain continued to increase during the whole course of this reign; but this increase was not the effect of extraordinary encouragement. On the contrary, the

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the necessities of government, the growing expenses of the nation, and the continual augmentation of the publick debt, obliged the legislature to hamper trade with manifold and grievous impositions: its increase, therefore, must have been owing to the natural progress of industry and adventure extending themselves to that farthest line or limit beyond which they will not be able to advance: when the tide of traffick has flowed to its highest mark, it will then begin to recede in a gradual ebb, until it is shrunk within the narrow limits of its original channel. War, which naturally impedes the traffick of other nations, had opened new sources to the merchants of Great-Britain: the superiority of her naval power had crushed the navigation of France, her great rival in commerce: so that she now supplied, on her own terms, all those foreign markets, at which, in time of peace, she was undersold by that dangerous competitor. Thus her trade was augmented to a surprising pitch: and this great augmentation alone enabled her to maintain the war at such an enormous expence. As this advantage will cease when the French are at liberty to re-establish their commerce, and prosecute it without molestation, it would be for the interest of Great-Britain to be at continual variance with that restless neighbour, provided the contest could be limited to the operations of a sea-war, in which England would be always invincible and victorious.

§ XXIV. The powers of the human mind were freely and fully exercised in this reign. Considerable progress was made in mathematicks and astronomy by divers individuals; among whom we

we number Sanderson, Bradley, Maclaurin, Smith, and the two Simpsons. Natural philosophy became a general study; and the new doctrine of electricity grew into fashion. Different methods were discovered for rendering sea-water potable and sweet; and divers useful hints were communicated to the publick by the learned Doctor Stephen Hales, who directed all his researches and experiments to the benefit of society. The study of alchemy no longer prevailed; but the art of chemistry was perfectly understood and assiduously applied to the purposes of sophistication. The clergy of Great-Britain were generally learned, pious, and exemplary. Sherlock, Hoadley, Secker, and Conybeare were promoted to the first dignities of the church. Warburton, who had long signalized himself by the strength and boldness of his genius, his extensive capacity, and profound erudition, at length obtained the mitre. But these promotions were granted to reasons of state convenience, and personal interest, rather than as rewards of extraordinary merit. Many other ecclesiasticks of worth and learning were totally overlooked. Nor was ecclesiastical merit confined to the established church. Many instances of extraordinary genius, unaffected piety, and universal moderation, appeared among the dissenting ministers of Great-Britain and Ireland: among these we particularise the elegant, the primitive Foster; the learned, ingenious, and penetrating Leland.

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§ XXV. The progress of reason, and free cultivation of the human mind, had not, however, entirely banished those ridiculous sects and schisms of which the kingdom had been for merly so productive.

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ductive. Imposture and fanaticism still hung upon the skirts of religion. Weak minds were seduced by the delusion of a superstition styled Methodism, raised upon the affectation of superior sanctity, and maintained by pretensions to divine illumination. Many thousands in the lower ranks of life were infected with this species of enthusiasm, by the unwearied endeavours of a few obscure preachers, such as Whitfield, and the two Wesleys, who propagated their doctrine to the most remote corners of the British dominions, and found means to lay the whole kingdom under contribution. Fanaticism also formed a league with false philosophy. One Hutchinson, a visionary, intoxicated with the fumes of Rabbinical learning, pretended to reduce all demonstration from Hebrew roots, and to confine all human knowledge to the five books of Moses. His disciples became numerous after his death. With the Methodists they denied the merit of good works: and bitterly inveighed against Newton as an ignorant pretender, who had presumed to set up his own ridiculous chimæras in opposition to the sacred philosophy of the Pentateuch. But the most extraordinary sect which distinguished this reign was that of the Moravians or Hernhutters, imported from Germany by Count Zinzendorf, who might have been termed the Melchisedeck of his followers, inasmuch as he assumed among them the threefold character of prophet, priest, and king. They could not be so properly styled a sect, as the disciples of an original, who had invented a new system of religion. Their chief adoration was paid to the Second Person in the Trinity: the First they treated

treated with the most shocking neglect. Some of their tenets were blasphemous, some indecent, and others ridiculously absurd. Their dicipline was a strange mixture of devotion and impurity. Their exterior worship consisted of hymns, prayers, and sermons: the hymns extremely ludicrous, and often indecent, alluding to the side-hole or wound which Christ received from a spear in his side while he remained upon the cross. Their sermons frequently contained very gross incentives to the work of propagation. Their private exercises are said to have abounded with such rites and mysteries as we cannot explain with any regard to decorum. They professed a community of goods, and were governed as one family, in temporals as well as spirituals, by a council, or kind of presbytery, in which the Count, as their ordinary, presided. In cases of doubt, or great consequence, these pretended to consult the Saviour, and to decide from immediate inspiration; so that they boasted of being under the immediate direction of a theocracy, though in fact they were slaves to the most dangerous kind of despotism: for as often as any individual of the community pretended to think for himself, or differ in opinion from the Ordinary and his band of associates, the oracle decreed that he should be instantly sent upon the mission which they had fixed in Greenland, or to the colony they had established in Pennsylvania. As these religionists consisted chiefly of manufacturers who appeared very sober, orderly, and industrious; and their chief declared his intention of prosecuting works of publick emolument; they obtained a settlement under a parliamentary sanction in England, where

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where they soon made a considerable number of proselytes, before their principles were fully discovered and explained.

§ XXVI. Many ingenious treatises on metaphysicks and morality appeared in the course of this reign, and a philosophical spirit of enquiry diffused itself to the farthest extremities of the united kingdom. Though few discoveries of importance were made in medicine, yet that art was well understood in all its different branches, and many of its professors distinguished themselves in other provinces of literature. Besides the medical Essays of London and Edinburgh, the physician's library was enriched with many useful modern productions; with the works of the classical Freind, the elegant Mead, the accurate Huxham, and the philosophical Pringle. The art of midwifery was elucidated by science, reduced to fixed principles, and almost wholly consigned into the hands of men practitioners. The researches of anatomy were prosecuted to some curious discoveries, by the ingenuity and dexterity of a Hunter and a Monro. The numerous hospitals in London contributed to the improvement of surgery, which was brought to perfection under the auspices of a Cheselden and a Sharpe. The advantages of agriculture, which had long flourished in England, extended themselves gradually to the most remote and barren provinces of the island.

§ XXVII. The mechanick powers were well understood, and judiciously applied to many useful machines of necessity and convenience. The mechanical arts had attained to all that perfection which they were capable of acquiring; but the

avarice and opressions of contractors obliged the handicraftsman to exert his ingenuity, not in finishing his work well, but in affording it cheap; in purchasing bad materials, and performing his task in a hurry; in concealing flaws, substituting show for solidity, and sacrificing reputation to the thirst of lucre. Thus, many of the English manufactures, being found slight and unserviceable, grew into discredit abroad; thus the art of producing them more perfect may in time be totally lost at home. The cloths now made in England are inferior in texture and fabrick to those which where manufactured in the beginning of the century; and the same judgement may be pronounced upon almost every article of hardware. The razors, knives, scissars, hatchets, swords, and other edge-utensils, prepared for exportation, are generally ill tempered, half finished, flawed or brittle; and the muskets, which are sold for seven or eight shillings apiece to the exporter, so carelessly and unconscientiously prepared, that they cannot be used without imminent danger of mutilation; accordingly, one hardly meets with a negro man upon the coast of Guinea, in the neighbourhood of the British settlements, who has not been wounded or maimed in some member by the bursting of the English fire-arms. The advantages of this traffick, carried on at the expence of character and humanity, will naturally cease, whenever those Africans can be supplied more honestly by the traders of any other nation.

§ XXVIII. Genius in writing spontaneously arose; and, though neglected by the great, flourished under the culture of a publick which had

pretensions

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pretensions to taste, and piqued itself on encouraging literary merit. Swift and Pope we have mentioned on another occasion. Young still survived a venerable monument of poetical talents. Thomson, the poet of the Seasons, displayed a luxuriancy of genius in describing the beauties of nature. Akenside and Armstrong excelled in didactick poetry. Even the Epopœa did not disdain an English dress; but appeared to advantage in the Leonidas of Glover, and the Epigoniad of Wilkie. The publick acknowledged a considerable share of dramatick merit in the tragedies of Young, Mallet, Home, and some other less distinguished authors. Very few regular comedies, during this period, were exhibited on the English theatre; which, however, produced many less laboured pieces; abounding with satire, wit, and humour. The Careless Husband of Cibber, and Suspicious Husband of Hoadley, are the only comedies of this age that bid fair for reaching posterity. The exhibitions of the stage were improved to the most exquisite entertainment by the talents and management of Garrick, who greatly surpassed all his predecessors of this and perhaps every other nation, in his genius for acting; in the sweetness and variety of his tones, the irresistible magick of his eye, the fire and vivacity of his action, the elegance of attitude, and the whole pathos of expression. Quin excelled in dignity and declamation, as well as in exhibiting some characters of humour, equally exquisite and peculiar. Mrs. Cibber breathed the whole soul of female tenderness and passion; and Mrs. Pritchard displayed all the dignity of distress. That Great-Britain was not barren of poets at this period, appears from

from the detached performances of Johnson, Mason, Gray, the two Whiteheads, and the two Wartons; besides a great number of other bards, who had sported in lyrick poetry, and acquired the applause of their fellow-citizens. Candidates for literary fame appeared even in the higher sphere of life, embellished by the nervous style, superior sense, and extensive erudition of a Corke; by the delicate taste, the polished muse, and tender feelings of a Lyttelton. King shone unrivalled in Roman eloquence. Even the female sex distinguished themselves by their taste and ingenuity. Miss Carter rivalled the celebrated Dacier in learning and critical knowledge; Mrs. Lennox signalized herself by many successful efforts of genius, both in poetry and prose; and Miss Reid excelled the celebrated Rosalba in portrait-painting, both in miniature and at large, in oil as well as in crayons. The genius of Cervantes was transfused into the novels of Fielding, who painted the characters, and ridiculed the follies of life, with equal strength, humour, and propriety. The field of history and biography was cultivated by many writers of ability; among whom we distinguish the copious Guthrie, the circumstantial Ralph, the laborious Carte, the learned and elegant Robertson, and above all, the ingenious, penetrating, and comprehensive Hume, whom we rank among the first writers of the age, both as an historian and philosopher. Nor let us forget the merit conspicuous in the works of Campbell, remarkable for candour, intelligence, and precision. Johnson, inferior to none in philosophy, philology, poetry, and classical learning, stands foremost as an essayist, justly admired for the dignity, strength, and

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and variety of his style, as well as for the agreeable manner in which he investigates the human heart, tracing every interesting emotion, and opening all the sources of morality. The laudable aim of enlisting the passions on the side of Virtue was successfully pursued by Richardson in his Pamela, Clarissa, and Grandison; a species of writing equally new and extraordinary, where, mingled with much superfluity, we find a sublime system of ethicks, an amazing knowledge and command of human nature. Many of the Greek and Roman classicks made their appearance in English translations, which were favourably received as works of merit; among these we place, after Pope's Homer, Virgil by Pitt and Warton, Horace by Francis, Polybius by Hampton, and Sophocles by Franklin. The war introduced a variety of military treatises, chiefly translated from the French language; and a free country, like Great-Britain, will always abound with political tracts and lucubrations. Every literary production of merit, calculated for amusement or instruction, that appeared in any country or language of Christendom, was immediately imported, and naturalized among the English people. Never was the pursuit after knowledge so universal, or literary merit more regarded, than at this juncture, by the body of the British nation; but it was honoured by no attention from the throne, and little indulgence did it reap from the liberality of particular patrons. The reign of Queen Anne was propitious to the fortunes of Swift and Pope, who lived in all the happy pride of independence. Young, sequestered from

from courts and preferment, possessed a moderate benefice in the country, and employed his time in a conscientious discharge of his ecclesiastical functions. Thomson, with the most benevolent heart that ever warmed the human breast, maintained a perpetual war with the difficulties of a narrow fortune. He enjoyed a place in chancery by the bounty of Lord Talbot, of which he was divested by the succeeding Chancellor. He afterwards enjoyed a small pension from Frederick Prince of Wales, which was withdrawn in the sequel. About two years before his death, he obtained, by the interest of his friend Lord Lyttelton, a comfortable place; but he did not live to taste the blessing of easy circumstances, and died in debt*. None of the rest whom we have named enjoyed any share of the royal bounty, except W. Whitehead, who succeeded to the place of laureat at the death of Cibber; and some of them whose merit was the most universally acknowledged, remained exposed to all the storms of indigence, and all the stings of mortification. While the Queen lived, some countenance was given to learning. She conversed with Newton, and corresponded with Leibnitz. She took pains to acquire popularity; the royal family on certain days dined in publick, for the satisfaction of the people: the court was animated

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* However he was neglected when living, his memory has been honoured with peculiar marks of publick regard, in an ample subscription for a new edition of his works; the profits were employed in erecting a monument to his fame in Westminster-Abbey, a subscription to which his present Majesty King George III. has liberally contributed. The remaining surplus was distributed among his poor relations.

with

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with a freedom of spirit and vivacity, which rendered it at once brilliant and agreeable. At her death that spirit began to languish, and a total stagnation of gaiety and good humour ensued. It was succeeded by a sudden calm, an ungracious reserve, and a still rotation of insipid forms*.

§ XXIX. England was not defective in other arts that embellish and amuse. Musick became a fashionable study, and its professors were generally caressed by the publick. An Italian opera was maintained at a great expence, and well supplied with foreign performers. Private concerts were instituted in every corner of the metropolis. The compositions of Handel were universally admired, and he himself lived in affluence. It must be owned at the same time that Geminiani was neglected, though his genius commanded esteem and veneration. Among the few natives of England who distinguished themselves by their talents in this art, Green, Howard, Arne, and Boyce, were the most remarkable.

§ XXX. The British soil, which had hitherto been barren in the article of painting, now produced some artists of extraordinary merit. Hogarth excelled all the world in exhibiting the scenes of ordinary life; in humour, character, and expres-

* George II. by his Queen Caroline, had two sons and five daughters who attained the age of maturity. Frederick Prince of Wales, father to his present Majesty George III.; William Duke of Cumberland; Anne, the Princess Royal, married to the late Prince of Orange, and mother to the present Stadtholder: Mary, Landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel; Louisa, late Queen of Denmark; Amelia and Carolina, who were never married.

sion.

sion. Hayman became eminent for historical designs and conversation pieces. Reynolds and Ramsay distinguished themselves by their superior merits in portraits: a branch that was successfully cultivated by many other English painters. Wootton was famous for representing live animals in general; Seymour for race-horses; Lambert, and the Smiths, for landscapes; and Scot for sea-pieces. Several spirited attempts were made on historical subjects, but little progress was made in the sublime parts of painting. Essays of this kind were discouraged by a false taste, founded upon a reprobation of British genius. The art of engraving was brought to perfection by Strange, and laudably practised by Grignion, Baron, Ravenet, and several other masters; great improvements were made in mezzotinto, miniature, and enamel. Many fair monuments of sculpture or statuary were raised by Rysbrach, Roubilliac, and Wilton. Architecture, which had been cherished by the elegant taste of Burlington, soon became a favourite study; and many magnificent edifices were reared in different parts of the kingdom. Ornaments were carved in wood, and moulded in stucco, with all the delicacy of execution; but a passion for novelty had introduced into gardening, building, and furniture, an absurd Chinese taste, equally void of beauty and convenience. Improvements in the liberal and useful arts will doubtless be the consequence of that encouragement given to merit by the society instituted for these purposes, which we have described on another occasion. As for the Royal Society, it seems to have degenerated in

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its researches, and to have had very little share, for half a century at least, in extending the influence of true philosophy.

We shall conclude this reign with a detail of the forces and fleets of Great-Britain, from whence the reader will conceive a just idea of her opulence and power.

BRIEF STATEMENT

Of the ARMIES *and* FLEETS *of* Great-Britain, *about the Middle of the Year* 1760.

LAND FORCES,

In GREAT-BRITAIN, *under* Lord Viscount Ligonier, *Commander in chief.*

2 Troops of Horse-Guards.
2 ——— Horse-Grenadiers.
5 Regiments of Dragoons.
3 ——— Foot-Guards.
23 ——— Foot.

In IRELAND, *under* Lieut. Gen. Earl of Rothes, *Commander in chief.*

2 Regiments of Horse.
8 ——— Dragoons.
17 ——— Foot.

In JERSEY, *under* Col. Boscawen.

1 Regiment of Foot.

At GIBRALTAR, *under* Lieut. Gen. Earl of Home, *Governor.*

6 Regiments of Foot.

In GERMANY, *under* Lieut. Gen. Marquis of Granby, *Commander in chief.*

1 Regiment of Horse-Guards.
2 ——— Horse.
3 ——— Dragoon-Guards.
6 ——— Dragoons.
16 ——— Foot.

In garrison at EMBDEN.

2 Regiments of Highlanders.

In NORTH-AMERICA, *under* Major-General Amherst, *Commander in chief.*

21 Regiments of Foot.

In the WEST-INDIES.

5½ Regiments of Foot.

In AFRICA.

2 Regiments of Foot.

In the EAST-INDIES.

4 Battalions of Foot.

Total: 31 Regiments of Horse and Dragoons.
97 ——— Foot.

Besides these, Great-Britain maintained Hanoverian, Hessian, and other German auxiliaries, to the amount of 60,000.

NAVY.

At or near home, under Sir Edward Hawke, Admiral Boscawen, *&c.*

		Guns.			Guns.
3	Ships of	100	5	Ships of	70
6	———	90	1	———	66
1	———	84	8	———	64
3	———	80	12	———	60
13	———	74	10	———	50

In the EAST-INDIES, *under* Vice-Admiral Pococke.

2	Ships of	74	7	Ships of	60
1	———	68	1	———	58
1	———	66	3	———	50
2	———	64			

In the WEST-INDIES, *under* Rear-Admiral Holmes.

1	Ship of	90	1	Ship of	66
2	———	80	6	———	64
1	———	74	4	———	60
2	———	70	2	———	50
1	———	68			

In NORTH-AMERICA, *under* Commodore Lord Colville.

1	Ship of	74	2	Ships of	64
3	———	70	3	———	60
1	———	66	2	———	50

In

In the MEDITERRANEAN, *under* Vice Admiral Saunders. CHAP. XIV. 1760.

		Guns.			Guns.
2	Ships of	90	3	Ships of	60
1	——	74	3	——	50
1	——	64			

At or near Home	Ships 62
In the East-Indies	17
West-Indies	20
North-America	12
Mediterranean	10
Total	121

List of Men of War, French *and* English, *taken, sunk, or casually lost;*

From the Year 1755 to the Year 1760.

FRENCH Ships taken.

		Guns.			Guns.
2	Ships of	84	2	Ships of	32
2	——	74	2	——	28
2	——	66	2	——	26
7	——	64	2	——	24
1	——	50	3	——	22
1	——	48	2	——	20
1	——	44	3	——	16
2	——	40	2	——	12
1	——	38	1	——	10
4	——	36	1	——	8
					1706

Ditto *destroyed.*

		Guns.			Guns.
3	Ships of	84	1	Ship of	24
9	——	74	1	——	22
3	——	64	1	——	20
1	——	56	1	——	18
2	——	50	2	——	16
8	——	36	6	——	8
3	——	32			1730

FRENCH

FRENCH ships *casually lost.*

		Guns.			Guns.
1	Ship of	74	1	Ship of	34
1	——	70	1	——	32
3	——	64	2	——	28
1	——	56	3	——	24
2	——	50	1	——	20
1	——	44			

786
Destroyed 1730
Taken 1706

Total 4222

ENGLISH ships *taken.*

		Guns.			Guns.
1	Ship of	60	2	Ships of	12
1	——	50	1	——	10

144

Ditto *destroyed.*

		Guns.			Guns.
1	Ship of	24	1	Ship of	8
2	——	20			

72

Ditto *casually lost.*

		Guns.			Guns.
1	Ship of	90	1	Ship of	50
1	——	80	1	——	28
2	——	74	1	——	24
2	——	64	1	——	20
1	——	60	2	——	8

644
Destroyed 72
Taken 144

Total 860

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